LARGEST PROVINCIAL ORGANISATIONS IN ANCIENT INDIA

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சென்னை
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INTRODUCTION

THERE is a class of inscriptions in Tamil and Kannada which reveal to us the transactions of a number of large rural organisations that were functioning in different parts of the Dekhan in ancient times. They had their sphere of activity extending over a wide area covering as many as eighteen districts, with several subdivisions in them. Agriculture, administration, art, commerce, industry and trade were some of the main subjects that came under their purview. While the very existence of these organisations remains yet to be fully and properly recognised, it may be said that we know much less at present about the real nature of these institutions; whether they were subject to the control of the State or were independent and in either case their relationship with the government; their constitutional character; the different functions they discharged; the qualifications of their members etc. This being the case, any contributions made to clear at least some of these points will not be discarded. The present attempt, it is hoped, will provoke some scholars to bestow their thought on this subject which it certainly demands. At any rate it will be a distinct gain to know the number of huge organisations that existed in early times and the vital part played by them, in the social, political and economic life of the people of ancient Dekhan.

More than twenty years ago while I was editing the *South Indian Inscriptions* (Texts), Volumes VI, VII and VIII, after passing the proofs of Volumes IV and V, I noted down the following few epigraphs, among others that had been already published by me, as deserving of a critical handling. With the information that I have gathered both from Tamil literature and from other inscriptions, I present them in this article.

It is needless to say that one of the most attractive features in the ancient Indian constitution consisted in the formation, in very early times which may go back to the Mauryan and Pre-Mauryan days, of numerous rural organisations of varying dimensions and descriptions.

These organisations were popular in nature and representative in character, and were invested with wide administrative functions and powers, that practically belonged to kings and their learned councils. The government of the day kept strict watch over the activities of such organisations to check that the powers were not misused. When the bodies were found to have gone astray, the kings brought them back to their path; but did not dissolve them or divest them of their powers.[1]

The existence and functioning of these bodies are very well reflected not only in the institutes of Manu, Yājñavalkya, Bṛhaspati, Nārada and other ancient law-givers of India, but also in the inscriptions that have been discovered in various parts of the country. Some of these inscriptions distinctly declare that the kings as well as the rural organisations strictly followed the law inculcated by Manu.[2]

Seven inscriptions are selected for detailed notice here as they throw light on the nature and functions of the biggest assemblies that existed in the land. The subjects dealt with by these assemblies covered almost all the important ones that should engage the attention of any government.

In presenting these inscriptions, the scheme followed is to give first the introduction (with translation) which furnishes all information about these assemblies, then an abstract of the contents and lastly to offer such remarks as are needed to elucidate them.

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1. Manu: Ch, VIII. Vv. 41-2.

2. *Cf.* செங்கோலே முன்னாக, நீதிகேட்டு நிபுணராகி 'மனுநெறி தழைப்ப, அறம்வளரக்கலி மெலியப் புகழ்பெருகப் பகைபணிய, and அறம்வளரக் கற்பமையப் புகழ்பெருக மனுநெறி தழைப்ப விஜயராஜ்யம் நடாத்துகின்ற, etc.

Numbers 40, 41 and 47 give a short introduction of what might be appropriately called 'the short descriptive title of the 'Provincial Assembly in charge of Administration and Agriculture.' This short introduction forms part of a fuller one found in numbers 129 and 442 which are also noticed at the end.

The contents of a few other similar records that afford help in the understanding of these inscriptions are also noticed in some detail in appropriate places.

These provincial assemblies were regularly constituted organisations. They were formed under the ægis of the government and were noted for their highly representative character. They carried out the functions of the State and stood responsible to it for the realisation of the legitimate dues, which dues had been fixed once and for ever in the law codes on all articles of production arising from private enterprise in rural areas. It appears that all industries without any reservation whatsoever were kept in the hands of private individuals. By a network of smaller rural assemblies of various descriptions which were spread over the whole country and were functioning under their guidance, as well as by the deputation from time to time of men from the central assemblies, the provincial organisations not only kept a watchful eye on the total industrial output, but also regulated the activities and bestowed their attention to the development of all industries that were working within their jurisdiction or province. The highly representative character of these autonomous bodies—which acted between the State and the people—won the confidence of the latter by attending to all their needs; and by zealously safeguarding the interest of the State and promptly realising its dues without any remiss, they were able to earn the good-will of the State.

The private parties, in whose hands the industries were left, being free from any pressure from above and free also from any kind of interference by the authorities, worked with commendable enthusiasm in their callings which were hereditary and best suited to their genius.

It needs no saying that different classes of industries were taken up by different castes or classes of people in ancient India.

Architecture, sculpture, painting, making of jewels and ornaments, wooden carvings and articles, metallic wares, weapons, armours, silk, cotton and fibre fabrics, attained a high degree of excellence, most of them being in the hands of hereditary families. For all kinds of articles produced in the land there was good demand. The ordinary people, the royal household, the numerous temples, theatres, and other institutions that were in the land consumed a good lot of the production. Besides there was a good international market. Ships with rich cargo regularly called at the Indian ports at stipulated timings and they were mostly in the night. The arrivals of the ships were hailed with joy by the expectant people who at the right time lit bon fires and put up lights for the guidance of the ships. Tradesmen and merchants were ready with their articles to be exported and eager for exchanging such things as were brought by the foreigners. Indian industry had a very successful and enviable career in the past. Not only were the products regularly consumed in India, but also there was constant demand from outside as is testified to by the quantity of exports. There could be no doubt that Indian industry contributed largely to the building up of the national wealth.

Labour was in good demand and was amply recompensed. It maintained, in ancient times, good relationship with capital. Agriculture was the foremost industry of the land and the people took to it with pleasure. It was regarded as the noblest of all callings. Sweeter far is the food earned by the plough than that secured by service. In fact the latter was condemned as "dog's living". "Get to plough and get excellence" is the ancient adage. Indian villages were noted for their cattle wealth. If it is remembered that within a few years of its building, the magnificent temple of Rājarājes'vara at Tanjore came to have amongst its possessions for the maintenance of perpetual lamps, more than 11,000 heads of cattle,[3] consisting of nearly 4,300 cows, 6,800 ewes and 30 buffaloes, one can imagine what would have been the number of cattle maintained by the peasants in the country parts for manuring the fields and for supplying milk, curd and ghee to the people. Cattle wealth continued to be the same till

3. Nos. 63-64 and 94-95 of *S.I.I.* Vol.II.

sixty to seventy years ago. Cattle manure was plenty and it was the only thing that was applied to the lands. On all the sides of an ancient village, there were cattle stands and they were auctioned or leased out and they fetched fair price. One of the Uttaramallūr inscriptions testifies to this fact.[3a]

Community of interest was the unifying force in the larger assemblies. It acted more powerfully than homogeneity which characterised the village assemblies of the *Ūr* and *Sabha*. In some of the *Nagara*, *Pura* and other organisations even homogeneity was not lost of, as most of the industries and works of art were left to be managed by specified classes or castes of people, being so decreed in the Hindu law codes.

A good part of the income of the king was derived from industry, commerce and trade conducted by the people and it even seems that this income was realised to the State by the rural assemblies of *Nagarattār* acting under the control of the provincial assemblies.

According to Manu the king's income from cow and gold was one-fiftieth [4] and from corn one-sixth, one-eighth or one-twelfth. The State could levy a tax of one-sixth on one's income from honey, butter, scents, medicinal herbs, extracts taken from articles, flowers, roots, leaves, vegetables, grains, leather, utensils, mud pots and stone vessels.[5] From artisan classes and artists, the king could get work for one day every month.[6] *Sruta-vidyā* (gains of learning), those that live by *vyavahāra, i.e.* by expounding law were not omitted to be taxed.[7]

According to Viṣṇu, the king can take from his subjects as tax (i) a sixth part, every year, of grain and other seeds,[8] (ii) two in a hundred of cattle, gold and cloths,[9] (iii) a sixth part of honey, flesh,

3a. No. 359. *S.I.I.* Vol. VI.
4. *Manu Ch.* VII. *V.* 130,
5. *Ibid.* *Vv.* 131 & 132.
6. *Ibid.* *V.* 138.
7. *Ibid.* *Vv.* 135, 137.
8. *Viṣṇu*, 22, 23.
9. *Ibid.* 24.

butter, herbs, perfumes, flowers, roots, fruits, liquids, condiments, wood, leaves, leather or skins, earthen pots, stone vessels and everything made of split bamboos,[10] (iv) a tenth part of marketable commodities sold in his own country[11] or a twentieth part of goods sold in another (foreign) country.[12] Artizans, manual labourers and s'udras shall do work for the king one day in each month.

I

No. 40 of S. I. I. Vol. VI.

The text of the subjoined inscription is given in Tamil in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Volume VI, under general number 40. It comes from Mannārgudi in the Tanjore district and is registered as number 89 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1897.

There is at the beginning of this record a phrase *puyal-vāyttu* with which some of the inscriptions of the Cōḷa king Kulōttuṅga III (A.D. 1178-1216) commence. The significance of this is not apparent. Perhaps it was intended to incise an inscription of Kulōttuṅga III and was given up.

After the auspicious words *Svasti S'rī* (*ll.* 1 f), a short introduction commencing with the word '*samasta-sāgara*' and ending with '*nigaḷāniṉṟa*' (*ll.* 2 to 5) is given. Though this precedes '*Sārigai-kōṭṭaiyil Bhuvanaikavīraṉ-maḍigaiyil nagarattōm*', it has to be taken with '*Nāṅgu-dis'ai padineṉ-viṣayattōmum*' that comes after. The scribe or the engraver has evidently committed a mistake here, as we know from other inscriptions that the introduction is one of the assembly of the Eighteen Districts and not of the assembly of the *Nagarattār*.

The inscription records (*ll.* 9 f) that the members of the assembly of merchants (*nagarattōm*) of *Bhuvanaikavīraṉ-maḍigai* and those of the assembly of the Eighteen Districts (*padineṉ-viṣaiyattōm*) who were engaged in righteously conducting the *samaya-dharma*, having assembled in full and without deficiency (*niṟaivaṟa-niraindu kuṟaivaṟa-kūḍi*) in the pavilion called

10. *Viṣṇu* 25.
11. *Ibid.* 29.
12. *Ibid.* 29.

Vikkiramapāṇḍiyaṉ-maṇḍapa of the temple of Jayaṅgoṇḍachōḻīs'varam-uḍaiyār at Rājādhirāja-caturvēdimaṅgalam which was a free village in Suttamalli-vaḷanāḍu, held convincing discussions making all agree (*amaiyappēsi is'aiya-cheydu*) and made the following *samaya-dharma-kārya, viz.* the assignment to the temple, for offerings and repairs, the fees derivable on arecanuts, at the rate one *ulakku* on every *podi* of the commodity that enter the S'ārigai-kōṭṭai and that even in cases when the article is managed to be taken out by other ways without passing through the *kottai*, it is said, that this fee must be levied.

The transaction registered here is made conjointly by (i) the members of the *Nagara* (*i.e.* the mercantile organisation) of the Maḍigai in S'ārigai-kōṭṭai which is a local body and (ii) by the members of the assembly of the Eighteen Districts which is a provincial organisation. The inscription describes the latter as being endowed with 'patience and sympathy' and as being engaged in conducting with justice the *samaya-dharma*. The two bodies are here seen publicly exercising the powers of the State in the three actions they did, *viz.* the levying of fees on articles of merchandise, the assignment of the revenues so obtained to the temple and causing the engraving of the transaction on the temple wall. It may be said from these actions alone that the assemblies were not private bodies but were regularly (legally) constituted responsible organisations entitled to command the obedience of all people and were allowed either constitutionally or by delegation of powers, to excercise State duties. The commendable way in which the members are described and the dignified manner in which they are reported to have conducted their proceedings testify to their high degree of attainments and the regard which they commanded. At any rate there was nothing clandestine in their actions. Absence of community or personal interests or gain is a noteworthy feature. Another point to note is that the two assemblies were not religious in their character but were political.

The body of the *nagarattār*, as seen here, is a smalier group or organisation like the *sabha* and the *ūr*.

The designation *Padinen-vis'aiyattōm* assumed by the other body, indicates clearly that it was also a popular assembly like the

minor village assemblies and not one appointed by the State. It may be termed a provincial assembly as its function extended over a wide region covering Eighteen Districts which must have included in them several subdivisions and numerous villages.

The phrase '*niṟaivaṟa-niṟaindu kuṟaivaṟa-kūḍi*' meaning "having assembled in full and without deficiency in number" shows that the assembly's first concern was to see that there was the required quorum. Further the clause '*amaiyappēsi isaiya-cheydu*' meaning that the members of the assemblies held convincing discussions and brought about unanimous agreement among them, reflects the democratical nature of these organisations.

From the phrases '*kshamaivinōḍu karuṇai cydi*' and '*samaya-dharmam inidu naḍātti*' (*i.e.* endowed with patience and sympathy they conducted with justice the *samaya-dharma*) it is evident that the administration of justice was one of the principal duties of this big assembly and that the members had the ability to discharge it.

Some of the words used in the inscription, besides those that had already been noticed, may now be dealt with.

The word *samaya* is used in the compounds *samaya-dharma* (*l*.5) and *samaya-dharma-kārya* (*l*.20). The idea that comes foremost about *samaya* is that it stands for 'religious belief, doctrine, tenet or creed.' Each of the six *dars'anas*—*sāṅkhya yōga, nyāya, vais'ēṣika, mīmāṃsa* and *vēdānta*—is called a *samaya*. In Tamil *aṟu-samayam* stands for S'*aiva*, *Vaiṣṇava*, *S'ākta*, *Caura*, *Gāṇāpatya* and *Kaumāra*. As such *samaya* is synonymous with *mata*. The four S'aiva saints Jñānasambandhar, Appar, Sundarar and Māṇikkavācakar are called Samaiyācāryas. We have already shown that the assemblies are not of a religious nature, being purely political bodies as seen from their transactions and from the description given of them. Eschewing the idea of religion as ill suiting the bodies occurring in this and other inscriptions of a similar nature, we have to look for a more

probable explanation of the word. Nārada, one of the writers of Dharms'āstras defines *samaya* in the following words:

पाखण्डि नैगमादीनां स्थितिः समयः उच्यते
समयस्थानपाकर्म तद्विवादपदं स्मृतम्

Commenting on this Vijñānēs'vara, who flourished at a time when the rural organisations were in play, says: [13]

पारिभाषिक धर्मेण व्यवस्थानं समयः

From this, it is clear that *samaya* means a *vyavastha*, *i.e.* a rule, regulation, agreement or transaction made by such bodies as *Pākhaṇḍas*, *Naigama*, etc. Such a regulation, it is said, has to be obeyed as the king's own laws, if it is found to be in accordance with (*i.e.* not offending) the laws of the land. [14] The laws relating to any breach of the regulations of the rural bodies (*samaya-bhēda*, *samaya-vyabhicāra* or *samaya-laṅghana*) are dealt with under the section *samvid-vyatikrama*. From being the *vyavastha* of the rural bodies, the word *samaya* has come to denote the bodies themselves: and in this sense, we have to take the word, as it occurs in such compounds '*samaya-kārya*' and '*samaya-dharma-kārya*.' We need take no notice of the other meanings of the word such as 'time, limit, bargain, sign, end, poetical convention etc.' In passing we may note that *Vaijayanti* of Yādavapräks'a has the following:

समयस्तु क्रियाकारे संकेते क्रिये सताम्
सिद्धान्ते शफते काले

i.e. samaya stands for performances of action, sign, actions of good men, system of philosophy, curse and time.

Other words that are worthy of mention are '*sārigai-kōṭṭai maḍigal* and *tirumalai*'. Of these, '*sārigai-kōṭṭai*' is not now in use. *Sārigai* means 'duty, toll, or fee' and *kōṭṭai* means a 'fortification.' As such, the compound '*Sārigai-kōṭṭai*' must

13. *Yajñavalkya Smriti.* Bombay Edition. P. 251.
14. *Yajñavalkya Samhita.* Chapter II. Verse. 186.

denote a fortified place where tolls or duties are levied on articles of merchandise, an emporium or warehouse. These fortified places appear to have been built by the State on highways through which most articles pass. Such highways were called '*ulgudai-peruvaḷi*' or '*padi-pōgu neḍu neṛi*'.[15] This becomes evident by the reference in the inscription to *puṛavaḷi* (outside paths or by-ways). Tamil literature points to the existence of several such fortified places built in big streets containing palatial buildings, owned by merchants and where immense quantities of articles of various descriptions used to be brought from distant villages in the interior of the country and stored awaiting the levy of duties. Sometimes, it is said, they were carefully packed and labelled specifiying the name of the article, *i.e.* the contents of the package and the exact quantity in measure, weight or number. The articles remained locked in and guarded by alert watchmen appointed by the State as well as by men deputed by the owners of the commodities. The by-ways were secluded roads passing through forests. They were guarded by the stationing of warriors armed with bows and arrows in villages. These were called *kavalai* in Tamil classical works.[16] Paṭṭiṇappālai which speaks of the great emporium of Kaverippūm-paṭṭinam refers to the existence of a big warehouse in the place to which were taken large quantities of articles obtained from several places. These were charged duty before they were carried to ships and marked with the tiger emblem of the Cōḷa kings. Similar duties were levied on articles brought in ships and they were allowed to pass into the country with the royal emblem marked on them.[17]

Tiṛumalai has the peculiar sense of a sacred stone temple in this inscription. *Maḍigai* evidently stands for *Maḷigai* 'a warehouse.'

15. Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaḍai, II: 65 and 89.
16. *Sattōḍu vaḷaṅgum ulgḍaipperuvaḷi kavalai kākkum villuḍai vaippiṉ viyaṉ kaṭṭiyaviṉ. Ibid.* I. 80f.
17. Paṭṭiṇappālai. 1. 129 f. Nirininṟu nilattēṟṟavum nilattininṟu nirpparappavum aḷand-ariyā=ppala-paṇḍam varamb-ariyāmai-vand-iṇḍi aruṇ-kaḍi-pperuṅ-kāppiṉ valiyuḍai vall-aṇaṅginōṉ *puli poṟittu puṟam pōkki etc.*

The details of date given, *viz.* twelfth year, *makara*, *su. di.* 7. Friday, *Rēvati*, correspond to A.D. 1288, December 31; and as such, it may belong to the twelfth year of Sundara Pāṇḍya II.

TEXT

1 Puyal vāyttu [I*] Suva-[18]
2 sti s'rī [I*] Samasta-s'ākara [19]-parama [ṉ] [20]
3 [ḍa*] lattu kshamaiviṉoḍuṅkaru-
4 ṉaiy-eydi-chchamaiya-*daṉmai* [21]
5 y-inidu naḍātti nigaḻāniṉṟa S'āri-
6 g[ai]-kkōṭṭaiyil Buvaṉēka-
7 vīraṉ-maḍigaiyil Nagarattōmum
8 nāṉgu-dis'ai-ppadiṉeṉ-vishaiya-
9 ttōmum Suttavalli-vaḷanāṭṭu-t-
10 taṉiyūr Irājādirāja-chchaturvēdima—
11 ṅgala[ttu Uḍai] [22] yār Jayaṅgo-
12 ṇḍachōḻīs'varamuḍaiyār tiruk-
13 kōyi[lil Vikkirama]- pāṇḍi-
14 [yaṉ-maṇḍa]pattu niṟaivaṟa niṟaindu
15 [kuṟaivaṟa-kkūḍi] . . . . . .
16 . . . . . . yāṇḍu paṉṉiraṇḍā-
17 vadu Makara-nāyaṟṟu pūrva-pakshattu sapta-
18 miyum Veḷḷi-kkiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Irēva-
19 ti nāḷ amaiya=ppēsi is'aiya=chcheyda *daṉma*
20 Samaiya-kāriyam-āvadu [I*] Uḍaiyār Jayaṅ-
21 goṇḍachōḻīs'varamuḍaiyārkku i-chchār-
22 rigaikkōṭṭaiyil pugudum pākku-p-
23 podiy-oṉṟukku uḻakkāga vanda pā-
24 kku eḍuttu amudupaḍikku vēṇḍuva [23]
25 tiruppaṇikk [24]-uḍal-āvaḍāgavum [I*] u-

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18. Read *sva*
19. Read *sāgara*.
20. In the original what looks like an e sign is really the initial of ṉ
21. Read *dharmam*
22. The portion in [] and in subsequent lines has been supplied from No. 41.
23. Read *darkkum*
24. Read *kkum*

26 Ilu-ppugādē pura vaḷi pōm pākku-p-
27 podikkum ippaḍi-kkoḷḷa-kkaḍavadāga
28 vum [I] ippaḍi-chchandirādittavar śellakkaḍa-
29 vadāgavum [I]ippaḍi sammadittu=*tiirumalai*-
30 yilē kal veṭṭi koḍuttōm Nagrat
31 tōmum Padineṇ-vishaiyattōmum [II*]

Translation

Hail! Prosperity! We (the members of the assemblies) of the *Nagarattār* of the Bhuvanaikavīraṇ-maḍigai in S'ārigaikkōṭṭai and of the Eighteen Districts situated in the four directions, who are righteously conducting the *samaya-dharma*, with patience and sympathy, in the region surrounded by the four oceans, having assembled in full without deficiency in number, in the pavilion called Vikramapāṇḍiyaṇ Maṇḍapa of the sacred temple of Uḍaiyār Jayaṅgoṇḍacōḷī'svaramuḍaiyār at Rājādhirāja-caturvēdimaṅgalam, a free village in Suttavalli-vaḷanāḍu, on the day of *Rēvati*, corresponding to Friday and the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of *Makara* in the twelfth year of the reign of.........held convincing discussions, unanimously agreed and made the following *dharma-samaya kārya*:

The arecanuts, collected at the rate of (one) *uḷakku* on every *podi* of arecanuts that are admitted into the warehouse, shall form the fund for meeting the requirements of offerings and repairs to the temple of Uḍaiyār Jayaṅgoṇḍacōḷī'svaramuḍaiyār. In the same manner (*i.e.* at the same rate) arecanuts shall be collected on each *podi* of arecanuts that may be carried in outer ways (also). In this manner shall this be done as long as the moon and the sun endure.

Agreeing thus, we (the members of the assemblies) of the *Nagarattār* and the Eighteen Districts had (the deed) engraved on stone in the temple.

No. 41 of S.I.I. Vol. VI (A.R. No. 90 of 1897).

This inscription registers a transaction similar to the one contained in number 40 noticed above. The duty leviable on pepper at the rate of one *uḷakku* on each *podi* of the commodity that enters the warehouse is hereby assigned to the temple by the same two assemblies.

The inscription is dated in the twelfth year of the reign of Jaṭāvarmaṉ Tribhuvanacakravartiṉ Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva. It furnishes the astronomical details *Kaṉi su di* 13, Friday and *Svāti*. The late Prof. Keilhorn equated it with Friday, 13th September A.D. 1287: and remarked "The *tithi* which ended on this day is the 3rd, not a 13th *tithi* of the bright half." [25] But L.D. Swamikkannu Pillai noted against this date "This date must be transferred to A.D.1314."

It is worthy of note that both the inscriptions state that duty is leviable even if an article is carried by other routes than the main one. The passage of the article does not seem to refer to any clandestine method adopted by the party concerned. In such a case as that, the duty would have been accompanied by a fine.

Text.[26]

1 Svasti sri [II*] Puyal vāyttu [II*]
2 Svasti sri [II*] Sama[sta sāgara [27]]-pa[ri]
3 maṇḍalattu kshamaiviṉoḍu
4 karuṇai eydi-chchamaiya danmaiy-i-
5 ṉidu naḍātti nigaḻāniṟa Sāri-
6 [28] gaikkōṭṭaiyil Vikkirama pā-
7 ṇḍiyaṉ-maḍigaiyil Nāṉgu tis'ai [29]
8 ppadiṉeṉ-vishayattōm
9 Suttavalli-vaḷanāṭṭu=ttaṉiyūr Rājādhirā-[30]
10 ja-chchaturvēdimaṅgalattu Uḍaiyār
11 Jayaṅgoṇḍa Chōḻis'varamuḍaiyār tiru-
12 muṉ Vikkiramapāṇḍiyaṉ tirumaṇḍa-
13 battu niṟaivara niṟaindu kuṟaivaṟa-kkū-
14 ḍi Srī-Kō-chchaṭaipaṉmarāṉa Tirupuvaṉachchak
15 karava [r*] ttigaḷ Srī Sundara Pāṇḍiyadē-
16 varkku yāṇḍu paṉṉiraṇḍāvadu- Kaṉ-

25. See No. 914 of the "*Southern List.*"
26. No. 90 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1897.
27. The letters in brackets have been supplied from No.40.
28. The *ai* sign is entered in the previous line.
29. The *sa* of *sri* is entered in the next line.
30. The length of *ra* is entered in the next line.

17 ni-nāyarru pūrva-pakshattu-trayōdas'iyum
18 veḷḷi-kkiḷamaiyum perra Sōdi nāḷ amaiya-p
19 pēs'iy = isaiya = chcheyda Danma-samaiya-kāriya
20 māvadu Udaiyār Jayaṅgoṇḍas'ō-
21 ḷis'varamuḍaiyārkku yi-chchārigaikkōṭ-
22 ṭaiyuḷppugudum miḷagu-podikku = p
23 podiy [31]-onrukku uḷakku miḷagum puḍa-
24 vai [32] kaṭṭu onrukku paṇam māgāṇiyum
25 ippaḍiyāl uḷḷadu eḍuttu-kkariy-amudukku
26 vēṇḍuvadu koṇḍu nīkkiy-uḷḷadu tiruppa-
27 ṇikku uḍalāvadāgavum uḷḷu-ppugāde pura-
28 vaḷi pōm-avaiyum ippaḍi koḷḷakkaḍava
29 dāgavum ippaḍi chandrādittavar s'ellakkaḍa-
30 vadāga chchammadittu Tirumalaiyilē kal ve-
31 ṭṭi-kkuḍuttōm Nāngu-tis'ai-ppadinen-
32 [vishaiyattōm [33]] [II*]

Translation of No. 41

Ll. 1-19 Same as for No. 40.

Ll. 19-27 On articles that may be admitted into the *S'ārigai-kōṭṭai* (warehouse) there shall be realised one *uḷakku* of pepper on every *podi* of pepper and one sixteenth *paṇam* on every *kaṭṭu* of ladies' clothings (*puḍavai*).

After giving what is necessary for the vegetable offering of the God, the balance shall be made to form a fund for repairs to the temple.

Ll. 27-32 Same as in No. 40.

No. 47 of S.I.I. Vol. VI. (A.R. No. 95 of 1897)

The inscription is engraved on the northern wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the Aṇṇāmalainātha temple at Mannārgudi, Tanjore district and it belongs to the thirteenth year of the reign of Rāja-kēsarivarmaṇ Tribhuvanacakravartiṇ Vīra Pāṇḍyadēva. The title Rājakēsarivarmaṇ assumed by the king would indicate his identity

31. *e* sign of *po* is in the previous line.
32. *ai* sign of *vai* is in the previous line.
33. This line is completely damaged.

with the Koṅgu Pāṇḍya sovereign of that name whose accession took place in A.D. 1265. How his inscription finds place in the Tanjore district remains to be cleared.

This inscription also introduces the Provincial Assembly of the Eighteen Districts and states that the members meeting in the Bhuvanaikavīraṉ-maḍigai in S'ārigai-kōṭṭai made an assignment of the fee leviable on pepper, for repairs and offerings to the shrine of Uḍaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalai-Uḍaiyār.

The final sentence of the inscription "*ippaḍikku samayam paṇikka samaya karaṇattāṉ eḻuttu*" meaning "Thus, at the command of the *Samaya*, the accountant of the *Samaya* wrote" is worthy of note, as it fixes the meaning of the word '*Samaya.*' There could be no doubt that the word *Samaya*, as it here occurs, stands for the Assembly (of the Eighteen Districts)[34] and that *Samaya-karaṇattāṉ* means the accountant of the Assembly. The word *Samaya*, it may also be noted, can indicate any other similar body.

Text

1 Svasti S'rī [II*] Irājakēsaripaṉ
2 . . . .[35] Tribhuvaṉachchakkarava-
3 ttigaḷ S'ri Vīra Pāṇḍiyadē-
4 varku yāṇḍu 13-vadu Kaṉ-
5 ṉi nāyaṟṟu pūrva-pakshattu Tra-
6 . . . . [36] yum Veḷḷi-kkiḻamai-
7 yum peṟṟa Aviṭṭattu nāḷ Samasta
8 . . . .[37]
9 ruṇaiy=eydi samaya daṉmmai inidu nadā-
10 tti niṟra Sāriyakkōṭṭaiyil
11 Buvaṉēkavīraṉ-maḍigaiyil Nāṉgu-disai-
12 Padiṉeṉ-Vishayattōm iṟai nāḷil n. . .
13 gaḷil niṟaivaṟa niṟaindu kuṟaivaṟa=kkūḍi emmi-

34. This has been inferred from the use of the word in No. I, above.

35. Read *mar-aṉa*

36. Read *yōdas'i*

37. This gap may be filled with the letters *sagara parimaṇḍalattu kshamaiviṉoḍu ka* on the analogy of Nos. 40 and 41.

14 l-isaindu amaiya = ppēśiy = iśaiya=chcheyda daṇma-
15 samaiya-kāryam=āvadu i=chchāriya-kōṭṭaiyi
16 l Uḍaiyār Tiruvaṇṇāmalaiyuḍaiyāṟku ti-
17 ruppaṇikkum kariyamudukkum . . . . . . [38]
18 . . . . [39] kku uḷakku miḷagāl va[ṇ]-
19 dadu paṟṟi . . . . [40] kaḍavarāgavum [II] ippaḍi sammadi-
20 ttu kal veṭṭi kuḍuttōm Nāṉgu-diśai- Pa-
21 diṉ-eṉ-vishayattōm [I] Ippaḍikku sama-
22 yam paṇikka samaya-karaṇattāṉ eḻuttu [II]
23 Sūbhaṁ-astu [II*].

Abstract of Contents

Ll. 1-7. Give the name of the king and details of date.

Ll. 7-15. State that the Assembly of the Eighteen Districts met in the Bhuvanēkavīraṉ Maḍigai.

Ll. 16-21. Registers the assignment by the Assembly of the income arising from the levy of fees on pepper, to the temple of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai-uḍaiyār.

Ll. 22-23 f. As commanded by the Assembly (*samayam*) its accountant (*samaya-karaṇattāṉ*) wrote this (deed).

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38 & 39. The letters lost here may be restored thus *uḍalāga i=chchāri-gaikkōṭṭaiyil-pugudum miḷagu podi oṉṟu-*

40. Read *koḷḷa-*

II

The inscription noticed hereunder is engraved on the northern wall of the first *prākāra* of the Tiruvikrama-Perumāḷ temple at Tirukoilur, Tirukoilur taluk, South Arcot district. It is registered as No. 117 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1900 and its text in Tamil is given in the *South-Indian Inscriptions* (Texts), Volume VII under General No. 129.

A short Sanskrit introduction of the two verses commencing with the words '*S'rīmatām Bhūmiputrāṇām*' with a descriptive Tamil passage, also in verse, beginning with the words "*Bhūmi-dēvikku makkaḷāgi*" forms the characteristic feature of what may be termed 'Provincial Assembly in charge of Administration and Agriculture.' This Assembly seems to have been so constituted as to represent all kinds of interest of the entire people in the province under their charge. It was called "*Chitramēḻi-Periya-nāṭṭōm*" (*l.* 7), "*Padiṉeṇ-viṣaiyattōm*" and "*Eḻubattoṇpadu-nāṭṭu Padiṉeṇ-Bhūmi* (*Viṣayattōm*)" (*l.* 8). The first of these designations shows that the assembly concerned itself, among others, with agriculture which formed the principal occupation of the people of the province; and the other designations show that the jurisidiction of the assembly extended over a vast extent of territory comprising of Eighteen Districts having in them seventy-nine subdivisions. This organisation had for its emblem an ornamental arch bearing the plough (*mēḻi-tōraṇam*) (*l.* 8).

The inscription under notice is of great importance as it describes the nature of the men who figured as members of the august body, their virtues (morale), their educational attainments and qualifications; the manner in which they discharged the duties that devolved on them; their relationship to the State and the high ideal and ultimate object they aimed at. The members, it is said, were the light of the four quarters (*ettis'aikkum-viḷakkāga*) and had the characteristic qualities of patience and sympathy (*kṣamaiviṉōdum karuṇaiyeydi*); they had mastered the two languages, *i.e.* Tamil and Sanskrit (*Sen Tamiḻum Vaḍakalaiyum terin-duṇarndu*); they had listened to the disquisitions on the science of

polity (*nīti kēḷṭu*) and were adepts in it (*nipuṇarāgi*); and had studied thoroughly the work called *Muttamiḻ mālai* which, it is said, was very highly renowned for the high political ideals that it inculcated (*uttama nīti uyar perum kīrtti*). The members are further reported to have used sweet words and afforded protection to the law-abiding,[41] to have employed harsh words and removed the wicked (*insollāl inid aḷittu*[42] *van sollāl maṟaṅ kaḍindu*), and thus made the people of all parts of the country happy."

The effect of their administration was "that virtue prospered and vice was exterminated; fame spread and the country was kept in a flourishing condition all round."

It is specially worthy of note (i) that this assembly was subject to the supreme authority of the reigning king of the land and acted quite in conformity with the institutions of Manu: (This is gathered from the clauses "*s'eṅkōle mumnāga*" and "*manu neṟi talaippa*", and (ii) that the members comprising the body were drawn from all the four castes (*cāturvarṇa*). This last feature of the Provincial Assembly sharply distinguishes it from the smaller village assemblies, *viz.* the *Brahmanical Sabhā* and the *Veḷḷānvagai Ūr* which were noted for the homogeneity of their constituent members.

It is evident from the introduction that the primary object of the organisation was the increase of the agricultural wealth of the country, which formed the source of most of the industries, commerce, trade and arts and to enhance the beauty of the land and to keep it in a flourishing condition. That the body was particularly functioning for the cultivators and the members represented the landed interest of the villages is reflected in the orders contained in this epigraph which states that annually one *padakku* of paddy shall be set apart for each plough for the benefit of the temple; and that every individual—whether an actual cultivator or not—shall pay one *kuruṇi* of paddy for the same purpose.

41. The verb *aḷi* meaning the opposite of *kaḍi*, must have for its object *aṟum* the antonym of *maṟum* the expressed object of *kaḍi*.

42. *Cf. Kuṟaḷ*, Ch. 39, *V.* 7 and *V.* 4.

Muttamiḻ-mālai. It has been stated above that the members of the Provincial Agricultural and Administrative body, had a thorough knowledge of a Tamil work entitled *Muttamiḻ-mālai.* Though this work, as many others referred to in inscriptions, has not come down to us, what is said about it, *viz.* " that it was greatly extolled for the high political wisdom which it contained goes to show that it was a treatise on political science. Ordinarily *Muttamiḻ* would be taken to mean the three classes of Tamil, *i.e. Iyal, Is'ai* and *Nādagam.* But that the work *Muttamiḻ-mālai* does not mean this, is made plain by the description given of it in the inscription itself. I may here note that in the historical introduction of the mediæval Pāṇḍya king Māṟavarmaṉ Tribhuvanacakravartiṉ Kulas'ēkhara found at Tiruvānaikāval, this work on political science seems to be referred to in the shorter form *Muttamiḻ* and is rightly classed with *Manu-nūl, i.e.* the *Manu Dharma-S'āstra* and the *Nāṉ-maṟai, i.e.,*the four Vēdās.[43] The very classification with the Dharma-S'āstra and the Vēdas might indicate that '*Muttamiḻ*' or '*Muttamiḻ-mālai*' was a Tamil manual of law drawn up for the guidance of the members of the Rural Assemblies composed of men drawn from all classes.

The words *kēṭṭu* and *kēḷvi* come from the root *kēḷ* to listen or learn by hearing discourses as in *kēḷvi Andaṇar,*[44] *kaṟṟilaṉ-āyiṉum-kēṭka* and *kēḷviyāl tōṭkappaḍāda.*[45]

In the text that follows, the words '*kṣamaivinoḍu karuṇai eydi samaiya daṇmam inidu naḍātti nigaḻāniṉṟa*' occurs in the short introduction of Nos. 40 and 41 of South-Indian Inscriptions Vol. VI, '*Nāṅgudis'ai Padiṉeṉ viṣaiyattōm*' taking the place of '*S'ittiramēḻi-Periyanāṭṭōm,*' The last portion of the text '*Uttamanīti, etc. Periyanāṭṭōm* occurs in No. 601 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1902 followed by '*Nāṅgu-dis'ai Padiṉeṉ-bhūmi dēs'i-tis'ai-viḷaṅgu tis'ai āyirattaiṉūṟṟuvar and Palamaṇḍalattuṉāṭṭu-cheṭṭi.*

43. See No. 426 of S.I.I. (Texts), Vol. IV.
44. Perumbāṇāṟṟuppaḍai, l. 315.
45. *Kuṟaḷ,* Ch. 42, *Vv.* 4 and 8.

TEXT

1. Hari[h]Svasti S'rī [II*] S'rīmatām Bhūmiputrāṇām s'rīmat gō-kshīrajīvinām [1*] Sarvvalōkahitan-nyāyyam chitramēḷa(m)sya s'āsanam [II*] Jīyatām jagatām-ētat pālanam rāshṭra-pōshaṇa-

2. m [I*] S'āsanam Bhūmi-putrāṇā(m)ñ=chātu[r*]vvarṇ-ṇa-kulōtbhavam-S'rī-Bhūmi-dēvikku makkaḷ-āgi nigaḷa =*chchentamiḻ vaḍa-kalai terind=uṇarndu nīti kēṭṭu nipuṇar-āgi* naṟu-malar vāḍā tTi-

3. rumagaḷ pudalvar ettis'aikkum viḷakkāga iṉ-s'ollāl-iṉid-aḷittu vaṉ-s'ollāl maṟaṅ=kaḍindu i-chchatus-sāgara-parimaṇḍalattu chandrādittavaraiy=iṉid=ōṅga Vātarā-saṉ kāṟṟ-a-

4. s'aippa Varuṇarās'aṉ nīṟ=ṟeḷippa Dēvarās'aṉ tis'ai-viḷakka e-ttis'ai-magaḷirum=iṉidu vīṟṟ=iruppā=tteṅ-gum palāvum=tē-māñ=chōlaiyum vāḻaiyuṅ=kamu-gum valar-koḍi-

5. mullaiyum[pū]vaiyuṅ=ki[ḷḷai]yum polivoḍuṅ=keḻumi vāṭṭam=iṉṟi=kkūṭṭam -perugiy=*aṟam vuḻara=kkali meliya*=ppugaḻ peruga=ppu[r]ai paṉiya=ttis'aiy=aṉaittuñ=chevidu paḍā-

6. mal s'eñ-kōlē muṉṉ-āgavuñ=chitra(t)mēḻiyē deyvam-āgavuñ=chem-poṟ-pas'um paiyē vēliy-āgavum kshamaiyiṉōḍuñ=karuṇaiy=eydi =chchamaiya-daṉmam=iṉidu naḍātti nigaḻāṉiṉ-

7. ṟa uttama-nītiy-uyar-peruñ-kīrtti Muttamiḻmālai muḻuvadum-uṇarnda chittir amēḻi=pperiya-nāṭṭōm vaittukkuḍutta paris'āvadu [II*] Milāḍ-āgiya Jaṉaṉāda-vaḷanāṭṭu-kkuṟukkai-

8. kkūṟṟattu Tirukkōvalu[r*] Eḻupatt-oṉbadu-nāṭṭu=ppadiṉeṉ bhūmi=chchittiramēḻi-viṉṉagar-āṉa Tiruviḍaikaḻiniṉṟaruḷiṉa Perumāḷ-kōyil aṉādiy-āga mēḻittōraṇamum S'rī-Bhūmidēvi-

9. yum pratisṭhai-paṇṇi muṉbē nam dharmmamāy=ppōdugaiyil i=nnāyaṉāṟkku muṉbu nām vaittukkuḍutta vaippuñ=chamaippuñ=cheḍiyum, mugamum chādaṉamum rāshṭra kshēbhaṅgaḷi-

10. le kai tappugaiyil muṉbu vaittukuḍutta paḍiyē āṭṭaikku kuṟuṇi nellum yēṟṟāl=uṭppaḍappeṟa vaittukkuḍuttōm Eḻupa.[46] ; ēṟukku padakku nellum āḷukku

TRANSLATION

We, the members of the *Citramēḻi-Periyanāḍu* (*i.e.* the Provincial Agricultural Organisation); who are the children of the glorious earth-goddess, who had studied and understood[47] the fine Tamil (language) and Sanskrit (*Vaḍakalai*); who have attentively heard[48] the Science of Polity[49] (expounded) and have acquired proficiency[50] in it; who are the sons of the goddess of prosperity that wears a garland of never fading fragrant flowers; who shed light

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46. A few letters are wanting at the end of the inscription. These letters may be "*Ilollbadu nāttu-ppadiṉeṉ-vishayattōm.*"

47. *Terind-uṇarndu* relates to understanding and feeling.

48. *Nīti* is the Science of Polity.

49. *Kēṭṭu* has reference to attending discourses on the science, not merely hearing. Study or hear the expositions of competent scholars.

50. As in the Uttaramallūr inscriptions *nipuṇarāgi* is used in the sense of having the skill to apply what has been learnt.

in all directions like lamps; who with kind words afford protection to the good and with harsh words, remove the wicked;[51] who have mastered fully the *Muttamiḻmālai*, a famous work embodying the highest principles of the Science of Polity; justly conducted the *samaya dharma* (the business of the assembly) with patience and sympathy, setting before us the sceptre of the king, respecting the plough (*chitramēḻi*) as our god, and having *s'empoṟ-pas'umpai* as our bound, so that the people of all the quarters surrounded by the oceans might live in peace and happiness as long as the moon and the sun endure, that Vātarāja (the king of the wind), might waft fine breeze, Varuṇarāja (the king of rain) might shower (timely) water, Dēvarāja (the king of gods) might shed (his) lustre on all the quarters: that cocoanuts and jack trees as well as groves of mangoes bearing sweet fruits, plantains and areca palms together with the entwining jasmine creepers might grow luxuriantly, that birds of fine plumage such as *pūvai* and *kiḷḷai* might, gathering together, without want, ncrease in multitude,[52] that virtue might prosper, *kali* (*i.e.* sin) might fade away,[53] fame spread and enmity might be subdued.[54] To the temple of Eḻupattoṉbadu-nāṭṭu-Padiṉeṉ Bhūmi-cittiramēḻi-Viṇṇagar *alias* Tiruviḍaikkaḻi-niṉṟaruḷiya-Perumāḷ at Tirukkōvalūr in Kuṟukkai kkūṟṟam of Malāḍu *alias* Jananāth-Vaḷanāḍu, which had received the arch of the plough (*meḻittōraṇam*) and has been left under our protection, Bhūmidēvī having been consecreated by us, we made the following endowment: as the gifts made by us to this temple in former years had been lost along with the edicts relating thereto, during invasions, we have now ordered that, one *padakku* of paddy on each plough, and on *kuruṇi* of paddy for every individual, shall be paid as had been formerly decreed by us.

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51. *Iṉidu* and *maṟam*. The use of the verbs *aḻi* and *kaḍi* suggest that they denote here the concrete and are not abstract nouns.

52. Here *kūṭṭam* has no reference to assembly. The birds having plenty to eat and having no care for their food, increase manifold.

53. The antonyms *Iṉidu* and *maṟam*, as well as *aṟam*, and *kali* are sometimes used as abstract and sometime as concrete nouns.

54. *Purai* seems to be incorrectly written for *pagai* which occurs in another inscription.

III

No. 198 of S. I. I. Vol. VIII. (A. R. No. 601 of 1902)

This inscription is engraved on a slab built into the floor of the entrance of the Vis'vēs'vara temple at Aṇbil in the Lalgudi taluk of the Trichinopoly district. It introduces several groups of corporate bodies and states that they met together without any deficiency (in the number required to form the quorum) at Kōlakkārar Karpaganallūr and made a *vyavastha* (portion damaged) for the better maintenance of the temple of Amudamoḷip-perumāḷ-Paḷḷi at Tiruviḍaikkuḍi in Poygai-nāḍu, a subdivision of Rājarāja-vaḷanāḍu. It is dated in the nineteenth year of the reign of Rājarāja and the details of date given, *viz. Kumbha, s'u. 5,* Thursday, *Rēvati* have been found by the late Professor Kielhorn to work out correctly for A.D. 1235, January 25. The several rural assemblies mentioned are:

(i) **The Provincial Administrative and Agricultural Assembly** called *Citramēḷi-Periyanāḍu*, with the introduction *Uttama nīti uyar perum kīrtti Muttamiḷmālai muḷumaiyum-uṇarnda* meaning that the members have mastered the science of polity as contained in the famous work *Muttamiḷmālai.*

(ii) The group termed **Nāngu dis'ai Padineṇ bhūmi-Dēsi-Dis'ai-viḷangu-Dis'ai Āyirattaiññūṟṟuvar** (the *Dis'ai 1500* of the *Eighteen Districts* of the *four quarters*). This assembly is the same as the one mentioned in No. 291 noticed below and is identical with the *Nagarattār* (Merchants).

(iii) A body of **Nāṭṭu-Ceṭṭis, Dēvaḷa-Ceṭṭis** and **Jayapālas.** This, it will be noticed later, figures in another inscription, as a distinct group.

(iv) A body formed of 64 *muṇai* **(men of the army),** *muṇai-vīrakkoḍiyār* **(flag-bearers of the army),** *Pēr-arum-ciṟappar* (the **highly exalted)** and *s'iṟappuḍai-kalaṇai* (the **distinguished of the mixed caste),** described as our sons (*nam-makkaḷ*).

By the wording, the second group may refer to traders whose activities are perhaps confined to the limits of a province which

consisted of eighteen districts. The third may refer to inland trading corporations or caravan traders visiting distant countries (*nāḍu*) and doing business there.[55] The fourth includes men of the army, flag-bearers, men of distinction and those of the *anulōma* caste engaged in different kinds of industries.

Text

1 Svasti S'rī [II*] Uttama-nīti uyar-pe-
2 rum-kīrtti Muttamiḻmāli muḻu-
3 mai [yu] [m*] niṟainda chittira-mēḻi-
4 pperi [ya]-nāṭṭōmum Nāṉgu-dis'ai=
5 ppadiṉeṉ-bhūmi-Dēs'ı=ddis'ai-viḷaṅgu Di-
6 s'ai [Ā] yiratt-aiññūṟṟuvarōmum
7 pala-maṇḍalattu Nāṭṭu-chcheṭṭiga-
8 ḷ Davaḷa-chcheṭṭigaḷ Jayapālargaḷum
9 nam-makkaḷ aṟupattu-nālu Muṉaiyu[m*]Mu-
10 ṉai-Vīrakkoḍiyā[ru]m Pēr-aruñ-chiṟappā-
11 rum s'iṟappuḍai=kkalaṉaiyārum
12 Kōlakkārar-Kaṟpagakkāvil
13 niṟaivaṟa niṟai[n]du kuṟaivaṟa-kkū-
14 ḍiy-irundu Rājarāja-pperu niravi-
15 yōm [I*] Tiribuvaṉachchakkarava [r*] ttigaḷ
16 s'rī-Rājarājadēvarkku yāṇḍu pat-
17 toṉbadāvadu Kumbha-nāyaṟṟu pū-
18 [r*]va-pakshattu pañchamiyum Viyāḻa-kki-
19 ḻamaiyum peṟṟa Rēvati nāḷ nammi-
20 l-is'aindu vyavasthai paṉṉi
21 ṉapaḍi [I*] Rājarāja-vaḷnāṭṭu Po-
22 ygai-nāṭṭu=tTiruviḍaikkuḍi A-
23 mudmoḻi-pperum-paḷḷikku ivv-I-
24 [ḍai] kkuḍi ūr-aḍaṅgalum muṉbu Rāja-
25 . . . . yamāy n'ṉra nāḷ-varaiyum iṟai
26 . . . . . . ṉṉu pūjaiyum tiruppaṇi [yu]-
27 . . . . s'elutti-pponda........

55. *Palamaṇḍalathu.*

No. 291 of S.I.I. Volume VIII (A.R. No. 21 of 1903)

This inscription is engraved on the western wall of the Sukhāsina Perumāḷ temple at Tiṭṭagudi in the Vriddhacalam taluk of the South Arcot district. The first part of the introduction refers to the Provincial Assembly in charge of Administration and Agriculture, with a Sanskrit verse followed by a short Tamil passage :

S'rīmat Bhūmi suputrasya cāturvarṇya kulōtbhavam,
Sarvalōka-hitārthāya Citramēḷasya S'āsanam ||

Eḻupattonbadu-nāṭṭu uttamanīti uyar peruṅkīrtti Muttamiḻ-Mālai muḻumaiyum niṟainda chittiramēḻi-pperiyanāṭṭōm.

The introduction makes it clear that the Provincial Agricultural Assembly (*Cittiramēḻi-Periyanāṭṭōm*) had for its jurisidiction 79 divisions, that its members belonged to all the four castes and were fully equipped with a knowledge of a highly renowned work called *Muttamiḻmālai* on the *Nīti S'āstra.*

Next is mentioned a body of 1500 persons who hailed from several parts of the country that were included in *Eighteen Bhūmi*. They are called *Nāṅgu-dis'ai Padinen-bhūmi-Dēs'i-dis'ai-viḷaṅgu Dis'ai-Āyirattaiññūṟṟuvar.* From the body of the inscription it is learnt that this assembly with its long descriptive name is one of *Nagarattār, i.e.* merchants.

The inscription is dated in the fourth year of the reign of the Cōḷa king Rājādhirāja II. The details of date given, *viz. Simha, s'u.* 13, Monday, *Satabhishaj*, point to A.D. 1168, August 19, Monday. The *tithi* was *s'u.* 14, which ended at .44 of day and not *s'u* 13.

The inscription records that both the assemblies having met in the Nānūṟṟuvan-maṇḍapa in the courtyard of the Viṣṇu temple of Eḻupattonbadunāṭṭu-Vinnagara-Emberumān situated on the western side of the village of Tiṭṭaikudi *alias* Tiruccirrambala-caturvēdimaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* of Mē[illegible] subdivision of Vaḍagarai-Virudarāja-*bhayankara-vaḷanāḍu*, set up the shrine of S'rī-Bhūmippiraṭṭiyār in the sacred courtyard, invested it with the ornamental arch of the *plough* and, provided for the god, which was the

dharma of both the bodies *i.e. the Nāḍu* and the *Nagara*, a fund for meeting the expenses of offerings, ornaments, repairs, festivals and other requirements. The provision consisted of an annual payment of one *padakku* of paddy on each plough, one *kuṟuṇi* of paddy by each person, five *kās'u* by each garland maker, two *kās'u* by each one of the servants employed under the two bodies and four *nāḻi* of ghee by every shepherd. It is also provided that the person who goes to demand the payments shall be given one *padakku* and one *kuṟuṇi* of white rice, one *kalam* of *pūri* rice, fifty areca-nuts, two *paṟṟu* of betel leaves, four *nāḻi* of salt, one *uri* of pepper and one *nāḻi* of gingelly oil (as wages). He shall get the fees even by distraining bellmetal vessels and breaking mud vessels. These provisions made for the temple shall not be caused to be destroyed, defaulted or unjustly dealt with.

TEXT

1. Svasti S'rī [II*] Tribhuvanachakravarttigaḷ S'rī Rājādhirājadēvarku yāṇḍu 4-vadu Simha-nāyaṟṟu Pūrva-pakshattu traiyōdas'iyum Tiṅgaḷ-kiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Sadaiya[t*]tu nāḷ [1*] S'rīmat-Bhūmi-suputrasya Chāturvaṇya-

2. kulōtbhavam[1*] sarvva-lōka hitārthāya Chitramēḻasya s'āsanam [II*] Eḻupatt-oṉbadu-nāṭṭu uttama-nīti-uyar-perum-kīrtti Muttamiḻmālai mu[ḻu]maiyum niṟainda Chittiramēḻi-pperiya-nāṭṭōmum Nāṅgu-ti-

3. s'ai-padiṉeṉ-bhūmi Dēs'i-Dis'ai-viḷaṅgu-Dis'ai-Āyirattaiññūṟṟuvarōmum Vaḍagarai Virudharājabhayaṅkara-vaḷanāṭṭu Mēṟkā-nāṭṭu brahmadēyam Tiṭṭaikuḍiy-āṉa Tiruchchiṟṟambala-chaturvēdimaṅgalattu

4. tiru-mēlai-kōyilāṉa Eḻupattoṉpadu-nāṭṭu-Viṉṉagar Emberumāṉ tirumuṟṟattu Nāṉūṟṟuvaṉ-tirumaṇḍapattilē niṟaivaṟa niṟaindu kuṟaivaṟa=kkūḍi irundu i-ttirumuṟṟattilē s'rī-Bhūmi-ppirāṭṭiyai

5. eḻundaruḷivittu mēḻi-ttōraṇamum s'ātti nāṭṭukkum nagarattukkum dharmam-āṉa ivv-Emberumāṉukku amudupaḍi s'āttu-ppaḍigaḷukkum tiruppaṇigaḷukkum tirunāḷ-

6. tēvaigaḷukku muḍalaga vaittukkuḍuttapaḍi [I*] Āṭṭaikku ōrāl padakku nellum āḷāl kuṟuṇi nellum mālai kaṭṭi-parimāṟuvār āḷukku aiñju kās'u iḍakkaḍavargaḷ-āgavum [I*]

7. Nañ-kīḻ paṇimakkaḷ āṭṭaikku iraṇḍu kās'u iḍakkaḍavargāḷ-āgavum [I*] nam ūr gōpālar kuḍiyāi āṭṭaikku nanāḻi ney aḷakka=kkaḍavārgaḷ-āgavum [I] Ippaḍi vaittukkuḍuttamaiyi-

8. l idu taṇḍuvārukku pukku ūril veḷḷai-aris'i tūṇi-ppadakkum pūri-aris'i kalamum aimbadu pākkum veṟṟiai paṟṟu iraṇḍum uppu nā-nāḻiyum miḷagu uriyum eḷ-eṇṇai nāḻiyum kuḍu-

9. kkavum [I*] Ippaḍi ivai taṇḍumiḍattu veṇkalam parittum maṇ-kalam taga[r*]tum koḷḷakkaḍavargaḷāgavum [I*] I-ttirumuṟṟattu=ttiruviḍaiyāṭṭaṅgaḷ aḻi piḷai anniyāyam s'eydār nāt.[56]

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56. The end of the inscription is built in.

IV

ALANGUDI INSCRIPTION OF RATHAKARAS

The inscriptions noticed above—Nos. 40, 41 and 47 of *S.I.I.* Volume VI. Nos. 291 and 298 of Volume VIII—related to organisations which had coterminous jurisdiction extending over a wide extent of territory covering 18 districts with 79 subdivisions and innumerable villages and hamlets situated in them. We have now to notice one other organisation of a similar nature. This is the assembly of the Rathakāras. Like the others this has also an introduction which embodies a legendary account about it. Though most of the epigraphs which relate to this body contain only the short title "*aṟuvagai-toḻil nāl-vagai Rathakāras*", meaning 'the Rathakāras of the four classes who followed six kinds of pursuits,' there is only a single inscription in the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* which furnishes a mythical account about it. Though it is very badly damaged, its importance is great for, besides the legendary account, it mentions as many as fourteen districts that were in the province over which the assembly had its jurisdiction. This inscription is engraved on the south wall of the second *prākāra* of the Āpatsahāyēs'vara temple at Ālaṅguḍi in the Nannilam taluk of the Tanjore district and its damaged text is given in Tamil in the South-Indian Inscriptions (Texts), Volume VI, under General No. 439.

The introduction commences with the word "*Upajīvita*" which is the beginning of a damaged Sanskrit verse. The preserved Tamil portion of the text tells us "that the *Rathakāras*, who were of four classes and did six kinds of work, had Ārya-nāḍu as their place of birth and acquired Uttarāpatti: they measured Tavappaḷḷi and obtained by conquest the *makara* flag: they witnessed the dance of Īs'vara, and had, by the favour of (the deity) Kāṭṭāvūr-Ammai, a rain of gold: they were renowned for righteous acquisition of wealth; for prosperity attended with greatness; for flawless family tradition; for power of utterance;

for leading a life of fearlessness; for reducing enemies to ashes; for victories gained in all battles undertaken by them; for securing the grace of Dēvēndra and for their extensive fame and progeny. Their industrial pursuits won the admiration of all. Akkasālai and Paḷḷi were in their charge."

The inscription is dated in S'aka 1186 (A.D.1264) and it records that the Rathakāras of the four classes pursuing the six kinds of work, together with the *Samaya-Saṅkētins*, assembled in full in the temple of Vaṇḍuvarāpati (-Perumāḷ) at Rājarāja-caturvēdimaṅgalam in S'uttamalli-vaḷanāḍu and carried out a resolution to the effect that an *iṉavari* shall be paid by all persons living in the several districts (mentioned by name) to form a fund from which the expenses of constructing a pavilion called *Muḷudumvallāṉ* which the Rathakāras had undertaken to build in the *Tiruniṟṟuccōḻan-tōppu* at Ālangūdi *alias* Jaṉaṉātha-caturvēdimaṅgalam in Mudiccōnāḍu, a subdivision of Suttamalli-vaḷanāḍu, in order that the God Āpatsahāyēs'vara may be taken in procession and made to rest there.

The above decision, it is said, was communicated to the *Rathakāras* of the districts (Vaḷanāḍu) as well as the *Saṅkētins* of the *Nāḍu* (subdivisions). The inscription authorises the *Vira-Māhīs'varas* to realise *iṉavari* and to pay it into the treasury. It is further said that if any one should refuse to pay the fee (*iṉavari*), his property shall be distrained by the demanding authority.

The signatures of persons bearing the designations *Periyanāṭṭu-Ās'āri*, *Rathakāra-cakravartti*, *Padiṉeṇbhūmi-Rathakāra-cakravartti*, *Kōyil-Kāṇiyuḍaiya-Perundaccaṉ* and *Periyanāṭṭu-Peruntaccaṉ*, *Taṭṭāṉ* etc. are a clear indication that among the four classes of the Rathakāras were goldsmiths and carpenters. In other inscriptions of Rathakāras figure sculptors who owned temple lands (*Kōyil-Kāṇiyuḍaiya-S'iṟpācāri*). That sculptors had been provided with lands in villages and that their services

were utilised by village assemblies for engraving the inscriptions [57] are also known from epigraphs.

This inscription, preserving as it does the names of fourteen districts, gives us a fairly good idea as to the wide extent of the jurisidiction of the provincial Assembly. The fourteen districts are: (1) Arumoḷidēva-vaḷanāḍu, (2) Rājēndras'ōḷa-vaḷanāḍu, (3) Umbar-nāḍu, (4) Geyamāṇikka-vaḷanāḍu, (5) Uyyakkoṇḍār-vaḷanāḍu, (6) Suttamalli-vaḷanāḍu, (7) Nittavinōda-vaḷanāḍu, (8) Pāṇḍikulās'aṇi-vaḷanāḍu, (9) ...... kulakāla-vaḷanāḍu, (10) Rājagambhīra-vaḷanāḍu, (11) Kōṇāḍu *alias* Kaḍalaḍaiyādilaṅgai-koṇḍas'ōḷa-vaḷanāḍu, (12) Vikkiramas'ōḷa-vaḷanāḍu, (13) Virudarājabhayaṅkara-vaḷanāḍu and (14) Rājarāja-vaḷanāḍu.

Of these No. (1), Armoḷidēva-vaḷanāḍu, had no less than 11 subdivisions, *viz.* (a) Aḷa-nāḍu, (b) Ārvala-kūṟṟam, (c) Iḍaiyaḷa-nāḍu, (d) Iṅga-Nāḍu, (e) Maṅgala-nāḍu, (f) Neṉmali-nāḍu, (g) Puliyūr-nāḍu, (h) Puraṅkarambai-nāḍu, (i) Takkaḷūr-nāḍu, (j) Valivala-kūṟṟam and (k) Vaṇḍāḷai-Vēḷūr-kūṟṟam.

No. (2) Rājēndras'ōḷa-vaḷanāḍu had (a) Neṉmali-nāḍu, (b) Puraṅkarambai-nāḍu, (c) Iṉṉambūr-nāḍu, (d) Tirukkaḷumala-nāḍu, (e) Piḍavūr-nāḍu, (f) Poygai-nāḍu and (g) Paṇaiyūr-nāḍu.

57. No. 438 of *S.I.I.* Vol. VI. states that that record was incised by by Sañcayan Uḍaiyāṉ *alias* S'iriḷankō Ācbāryaṉ, being directed to do so by the Assembly of Āḷanguḍi. An inscription of Mannārguḍi (No. 258 of *S. I. I.* Vol. VIII) states that it was written by Baṭṭar Viras'ōḷa-maṇḍala Ācbāyaṉ, one of the sculptors (*s'iṟpi*) owning village land (*Ūrkāṇiyuḍaiya-s'iṟpaṉ*). The engraver of the Bāhūr plates was a goldsmith (*svarṇakṟit*). He is described as the forehead mark of *uditōdita-kula* and as being well versed in all the S'āstras (*uditōdaya kula tilaka* and *sarva-s'astra nis'ṇātaḥ*). He bore the name Nṛipatuṅga. He was one of the chief servants of the Pallava family. It is interesting to note that the Vēlūrpālayam plates of Nandivarman III were engraved by Cittaya's son who was famous for his skill in engraving. In another place we find that the engraver was a certain Pērayaṉ, a *kaṣṭakari* (*i.e.* carpenter). He is described as *Sthapathi-kulā vyōmacandra*, a moon in the sky, the family of the *Sthapathis*. He was a resident of Aimmanaiccēri (not Manaiceri) in Kaccippēḍu.

No. (4) Geyamaṇikka-vaḷanāḍu had in it Tiruvārūr-kūṟṟam.

No. (5) Uyyakkoṇḍār-vaḷanāḍu had in it the subdivisions (a) Ākkūr-nāḍu, (b) Āmbūr-nāḍu, (c) Kurumbūr-nāḍu, (d) Marugal-nāḍu, (e) Pāmbura-nāḍu, (f) Tiraimūr-nāḍu, (g) Tirunaṟaiyūr-nāḍu, (h) Tiruvaḷundūr-nāḍu, (i) Veṇṇāḍu and (j) Viḷai-nāḍu.

No. (6) Suttamalli-vaḷanāḍu had in it Pāmbuṇi-kūṟṟam and Veṇṇi-kūṟṟam.

No. (7) Nittavinōḍa-vaḷanāḍu had in it (a) Āvūr-kūṟṟam, (b) Kāndāra-nāḍu, (c) Karambai-nāḍu, (d) Kiḷār-kūṟṟam, (e) Muḍiccōṇaḍu, (f) Nallūr-nāḍu. (g) Pāmbuṇi-kūṟṟam, (h) Poyir-kūṟṟam, (i) Veṇṇi-kūṟṟam, and (j) Vīras'ōḷa-Vaḷanāḍu.

No. (8) Pāṇḍikulāsa'ṇi-vaḷanāḍu contained in it the subdivisions (a) Ārkāṭṭu-kūṟṟam, (b) Eyi-nāḍu, or Erisūr-nāḍu, (c) Idaiyāṟṟu-nāḍu, (d) Kiḻiyūr-nāḍu, (e) Kīḻseṅgiḻi-nāḍu, (f) Kiḻ-sūdi-nāḍu, (g) Mīy-Sēṅgiḻi-nāḍu, (h) Mīyvaḻi-nāḍu, or Mīypoḻi-nāḍu, (i) Panaṅ-gāḍu-nāḍu, (j) Tañjāvūr-kūṟṟam, (k) Puṉṟūr-kūṟṟam, (l) Puṟak-kiḻiyūr-nāḍu, (m) Suṇḍaimūlai-nāḍu, (n) Vaḍa-Kavira-Nāḍu (o) Vaḍa Siruvāy ('vāyil)-nāḍu, and (p) Viḷā-nāḍu.

If by No. (9) is meant Jayasiṅgakulakāla-vaḷanāḍu, it had in it (a) Kulamaṅgala-nāḍu, (b) Teṉ-Kavira Nāḍu, and (c) Mī-Seṅgiḻi-nāḍu.

No. (10) Rājagambhīra-vaḷanāḍu had in it the subdivisions (a) Kurunagai-nāḍu, (b) Sūralūr-kūṟṟam, (c) Uṟaiyūr-kūṟṟam and (d) Tirupparāytturai.

No. (11) Kōṇāḍu *alias* Kaḍalaḍaiyādilaṅgaikoṇḍas'ōḷa-vaḷa-nāḍu had in it seven subdivisions called (a) Aṇṇalvāyil-kūṟṟam, (b) Kūḍalūr-nāḍu, (c) Kuṉṟiyūr or Kuṉṟis'ūḻ-nāḍu, (d) Ollaiyūr-kūṟṟam, (e) Uṟattūr-kūṟṟam, (f) Vaḍa-S'iruvāyil-nāḍu and (g) Vayalaga-nāḍu.

No. (12) Vikkiramas'ōḷa-vaḷanāḍu had in it Miṟai-kūṟṟam.

No. (13) Virudarājabhayaṅkara-vaḷanāḍu had Maṇṇi-nāḍu, Miḷalai-nāḍu, Nallāṟṟūr-nāḍu and Kuṟukkai-nāḍu.

No. (14) Rājagambīra-vaḷanāḍu contained Tiruvindaḷūr-nāḍu, Tirukkaḷumala-nāḍu, Kurukkai-nāḍu and Maṇṇi-nāḍu.

Though the present inscription furnishes a somewhat lengthy account about the Rathakāras, it does not specify who the four classes were and what the six kinds of work which they pursued were. On these questions, two inscriptions throw some light and we note them here. The social status, profession and privileges of the classes of people included in the Rathakāras having perhaps been called in question, the matter had to be settled by a body of learned men and their finding had to be engraved on stone and copper in the thirteenth century A.D. One of these inscriptions is found at Tiruvālūr in the Tanjore district and the other at Uyyokkoṇḍān Tirumalai in the Trichinopoly district. The latter record has been noticed by Krishna Sastri in his *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1909. p. 95f. This inscription is dated in the forty-eighth year of the reign of Tribhuvanacakravartiṉ Kulōttuṅga-Cōḷa (taken to be Kulōttuṅga I). It lays down the profession to be followed by the *Anulōma* class called Rathakāra who is described as the son of a *Māhiṣya* by a *Karaṇī* woman. The following are the means of livelihood prescribed for him—architecture, building coaches and chariots, erecting *gōpuras* of temples with images on them, making instruments for use in sacrificial ceremonies, building *maṇḍapams* and making jewels for kings such as diadems, bracelets etc. One of the authorities quoted states that the Rathakāra is entitled to *upanayana, ijya, ādhāna* and another forbids him from performing *agnihōtra, aupāsana* and *pañcamahāyajña*. *Upanayana* of the Rathakāra, it is said, has to be performed without quoting *mantras*. Mr. Krishna Sastri has noted that the Rathakāra class existed even in Vēdic times; and I may add that *Anuvāka* 4 of *Rudraprasna* besides mentioning Rathakāras contains some of the names of the *Anulōma* classes such as Kulāla, Karmāra, Niṣāda, Takṣa, etc.

From the Uyyakoṇḍān Tirumalai inscription given above it is not clear who the four classes of Rathakāras were and what were the six kinds of work they did. This must be sought for elsewhere.

The first half of Verse 95 of Yājñavalkya I gives the same definition as that furnished in the Uyyakkoṇḍān Tirumalai Inscription *viz.*

माहिष्येण करण्यां तु रथकारः प्रजायत ।[58]

In his commentary on this verse Vijñāneśvara quotes the following from Saṅkha :[59]

क्षत्रियवैश्यानुलोमान्तरोत्पन्नजो यो रथकारः
तस्येज्याधानोपनयन संस्कार क्रिया अश्वप्रातिष्टा
रथसूत्र वास्तुविद्याध्ययन वृत्तिता च

The first part of the above quotation gives the general statement regarding the origin of the Rathakāra. Even having this for our guidance and also the text of Yājñavalkya defining the origin of one of the Rathakāra classes to help us, it is not easy to trace the source of the other three classes.

This difficult problem seems to get a clue for its solution from Yādavaprakās'a's Vaijayanti which states that an Ambaṣṭa (also called Mahānarma and Madgu)[60] is a Māhiṣya who knows medicine; and that Ugra is a Karaṇa (also called Pāraśava)[61] who guards forts, treasure and harem. With Karaṇī as mother and Māhiṣya and Ambaṣṭa as father we get two classes of Rathakāras; and that with Ugra as mother and Māhiṣya and Ambaṣṭa

58. With this compare "*Rathakāram tu Māhiṣyat Karaṇī Māhiṣādakam,*" Vaijayanti : Bhūmikāṇḍa, Manuṣyādhyāya, *v.*48, Madras Edn. 1893.

59. Bombay Edn. p.29.

60. Vaijayanti, Madras Edn. p. 77, *Vv.* 69-71.

61. *Ibid.* p.78, *v.*76.

as father, we get two more classes of Rathakāras,[62] thus making in all four classes (*nālvagai rathakārar*) that are spoken of in most of the Tamil inscriptions including the one under notice. The text of Vaijayanti seems further to suggest that the profession adopted by Ambaṣṭa and Ugra determined their classes (treated) as Māhiṣya and Karaṇa (if not the degraded status of their fathers). Thus the four classes of Rathakāras are:

1. the son of a Māhiṣya father and Ugra mother,
2. the son of a Māhiṣya father and Karaṇī mother,
3. the son of an Ambaṣṭa father and Ugra mother,
4. the son of an Ambaṣṭa father and Karaṇī mother.

Though four subdivisions may be made out as shown above, the Rathakāra is only a single class, for Ambaṣṭa and Ugra are treated as Māhiṣya and Karaṇa. Vaijayanti enumerates the work of the Rathakāras thus: persons who look after the cash, demands, play and traffic, who measure and construct houses and are acquainted with the rules of worship, sacrifice and *upanayana*.

It is needless to say that under the four classes of Rathakāras, who were after all one, were included the artisan class of Taccaṉ, Taṭṭāṉ, Kollaṉ and Kammāḷaṉ or Karumāram (blacksmith), painters and *s'ilpins*. They were given various names according to the work they did. These six kinds of work thus defined the *aṟuvagaittoḻil* of the inscriptions. This view, it will be seen, is supported by the following text of Vaijayanti:

Takṣā tu Vārddhakīr=tvaṣṭā Rathakāras=cha Kāṣṭataṭ which makes all synonymous.

Having pointed out who the Rathakāras were, what their origin was and in a way indicated also the number of industrial pursuits in which they were engaged, we now proceed to show where they lived, with whom they were associated and what part the whole group played in the social, economic and political

62. An Ambaṣṭa to be regarded as Māhiṣya, his father though a Brahmin by birth must have been considered a Kṣatriya having perhaps given up his duties. For a similar reason an Ugra may be regarded as Karaṇa. Or it might even be, very probably, that the profession adopted by them determined the classes.

structure of the nation and what contribution they made to the cultural advancement of the country.

That the Rathakāra classes lived in separate *cēris* or hamlets adjoining big cities is known from inscriptions and literature. One of the inscriptions of Cidambaram—which was a free village (something akin to Presidency towns) in the district of Rājēndrasiṅga-vaḷanāḍu—speaks of the foundation of a *nagara* (on the eastren hamlet) under the name Guṇamēnagaipuram and states that it shall admit to be settled in it as inhabitants such *vyāpārins* (merchants), *veḷḷāns* (cultivators), *s'aṅkarappāḍiyār*, *s'āliyar* (weavers) and *paṭṭiṇavar* as well as the *kīḷkalaṇai* classes, *viz. taccar* (carpenters), *kollar* (blacksmith), *taṭṭār* (goldsmith) and *kōliyar*, that are desirous of entering it. It may be noted (i) that all the persons that are mentioned here are of the industrial and mercantile classes, (ii) that *taccar, kollar, taṭṭār, kōliyar* (who as pointed out by us above formed the Rathakāras, are here called *Kīḷ-kalaṇai*, a term that may be taken to correspond to the Sanskrit *anulōma* and (iii) that the quarter of these classes is called by the terms *nagara* and *puram* and that it was a hamlet. We find that, in places like Kāñcipuram, Ulagaḷanda-s'ōḷapuram, Jananāthapuram etc. the *nagara* constitution was functioning. The inscription cited above makes a distinction between the *Kiḷ-kalaṇai* in which were included the Rathakāra classes *taccar, kollar, taṭṭār, kōliyar* and the other industrialists among whom figure *s'aṅkarappāḍiyār* and *s'āliyar*. On a previous occasion I pointed out that *kaikkōḷar, s'āliyar, vāṇigar, sēnai-aṅgāḍiyār* and *kōyil-aṅgāḍiyār* etc. formed *puṟa-kalaṇai* (see p.146 of *Ep. Ind.*Vol. XXII) a term that is akin to and perhaps derived from *pratilōma* as *kīḷ-kalaṇai* seems to be derived from *anulōma*. The living in proximity of several industrial classes in a single place like *nagara*, subject to a single corporation of merchants is another feature that is worthy of note.

From the Cidambaram record we find that people of several mixed castes (*kīl-kalaṇai* and *puṟa-kalaṇai*), who followed different professions in life, lived in the same place, which is called here a *nagara* and *puram*, mixing freely with each other and were

in close contact with the corporation of merchants who could clear off their productions.

In addition to the several classes of people mentioned in the above inscription, some others also lived in the industrial village of *puram* or *nagara*. One of the Tamil epigraphs of Ceylon found at Polannaruva refers to the construction by Dēvasēna at the command of the king Vijayabāhudēva I, of a Buddhist monument called Gandhakuṭi *alias* Daḷadāyapperumpaḷḷi for enshrining the tooth relic of the Buddha. It tells us that this newly constructed shrine was entrusted to the care and protection of the Vēḷaikkāras. Among the latter were included the following *pala-kalaṇai* (numerous mixed castes of people), *viz. Valaṅgai, Iḍaṅgai, Sirudaṇam, Piḷḷaigaḷdaṇam Vaḍugar, Malayāḷar, Parivārakoṇdam*, etc. What is more important is the statement made in this nscription that the *Vaḷañjiyar* were their *mūtādai* (early ancestors) and that the *nagarattār* always accompanied them.[63]

Besides mentioning a number of classes that followed the different professions and stating that the Vēḷaikkāras were always accompanied by the *nagarattār*—in this respect resembling the people that were settled in the newly founded *nagara* of Guṇamēnagaipuram—the Polannaruva inscription refers to one of the important functions performed by the chief of the Rathakāra-Takṣa. This function is called *tirunayana-mokṣa* or *tirunayana abhiṣēka*. It is performed year after year when, perhaps, the painting of the image is renewed. Speaking of the chief priest who acted on the occasion of the first of such ceremonies to Gandhakuṭi, the Polannaruva inscription states that he was *sakalas'āstra-āgamas'īlācāra-sampanna* and that he was accompanied by Vyāriṇi Mugallan and the minister of the king (Rajāmātya).[64]

From the Mahāvaṁsa we learn that the captain of the army of Mugalan was named Uttara and he built a meditation hall. Perhaps

63. The words used in the inscription are: *engaḷukku mūtātaiyārayuḷḷa Vaḷañjiyaraiyum eṅgaḷōḍu-kūḍi varum nagarattaraiyum kūṭṭi mūṉṟukai-tiru-vēḷaikkāraṉ-Daḷadāyapperumpaḷḷi eṉṟu tiru-namañ-chatti.*

64. No. 600 of *M.E.C.* for 1912. Text is given in *S.I.I.* Vol. IV No. 1396.

Uttaramula referred to in the inscription is so called after Uttara. In this connection the following is worth noting. "The abhishēka of an image is the setting or painting of its eyes, a ceremony annually performed with great splendour. It is the *nētra-pinkama* of the Singhalese Buddhists." [65] Curiously enough this ceremony of eye-*opening finds mention in the Tamil work Jīvaka-Cintāmaṇi.*[66] The author tells us how the painter or sculptor, concentrating his thoughts, looks on the object, forms an image of it on the canvas of his brain, develops it with the brush of his imagination and finally performs the eye-opening. The term used by the poet is *kaṇ-viḍuttal* which the commentator Naccinārkiṉiyār renders into "*nayana-mōkkam*" which is the same as the one used in the Polannaruva inscription cited above.

We have referred in some detail to the contents of two inscriptions, one from Cidambaram and the other from Polannaruva, the former to give a fairly good idea of the constitutional parts of a *puram* or *nagaram* which formed the residential quarters of the Rathakāras with their numerous subdivisions or sects and the latter to show the various groups or assemblages of persons that acted in a body and the prominent share taken by them in the administration and management of public institutions such as Hindu temples and Buddhist shrines.

We shall now note what information we gather from Tamil classical works regarding the Rathakāras, the various works in which they were engaged and the contribution they made to the economic and cultural progress of the nation.

Besides *nagarm* and *puram* in which were large settlements of different groups of industrialists, merchants and traders, some of them also lived in smaller quarters called *cēris*. These *cēris* were named after the classes of people that inhabited them. Tamil literature speaks of Yavaṉaccēri, Eṟipaḍaiccēri, Sēṉaiccēri, Kollañcēri, Milaiccacēri, Muṭṭigaiccēri, Kammavālaiyam and Dēs'iyacēri,

65. Wijesinha: *Mahāvamsa*, p. i.

66. Nāmagaḷilambakam, v. 180. *Ivv-uruvu neñjeṉṉuṅ-Kiḷiyiṉmēl-irundilakkittu—avv-uruvu-niṉaipp-eṉṉuṉ-tugiligaiyāl varuttittu=kkaviyataṉ nōkkiṉār-kaṇviḍuttu etc.*

etc. The people in these *cēris* followed various pursuits. While some were engaged in bangle-making, boring holes in gems, making gold ornaments, bell-metal and copper-vessels, iron articles ammunitions and wood works, others were shaping sculptures, drawing paintings and the like.[67] Many of these must have been grouped together and made to fall under one or other of the six main industries in which the four classes of Rathakāras were engaged.

The following lines speak of the kind of work the industrial classes pursued and testify to the proficiency of the craftsmen of some of the places:

Yavaṉattaccarum, Avanti kollarum, Māgadattu-piranda Maṇiviṉai-kāranum, Pāḍali-piranda sempoṉ-viṉaiñarum, Kōs'a-latt-iyaṉṟa Ōviyattoḻilarum, Vatta-nāṭṭu Vaṇṇa-kammiyarum, Evvagai-s'eygaiyum uvamaṅ-kātti nuṇṇidiṉ-uṇarnda nuḷainda nūkkiṉ Kaṇṇuḷ-viṉaiñarum.

The six kinds of industrialist often referred to are *taccar* (carpenters), *kollar* (blacksmiths), *maṇi-viṉaiñar* (workers on gems), *taṭṭār* (goldsmiths), *ōviyar* (sculptors) and *vaṇṇakammiyar* (painters). In each of these some are said to have established their reputation. The carpenters of Yavana, the blacksmiths of Avanti, gem-workers of Magadha, goldsmiths of Pāṭaliputra (Patna), the sculptors of Kōs'ala and the painters of Vatsa had made a mark each class in its field. The terms *ōviyam* and *vaṇṇa-kammiyam* in Tamil seem to include sculpture, architecture and painting.

A reference to the above mentioned six kinds of crafts is found in Indiraviḻavūreḍutta-kādai of Silappadigāram and Maṇimēgalai. The sculptors are known as ōviyar, s'iṟpar, kaṇṇuḷ-viṉaiñar.

67. Maduraikkanchi also speaks of some of the works of the Rathakāras in lines 511f:—*Kōḍupōḷ-kaḍainarum* (bangle makers), *Tirumaṇi-kuyiṉarum* (boring holes in gems), *s'ūḍuṟu naṉ poṉ s'uḍar-iḻḻai puṉainarum* (making gold jewels), *poṉ urai kāṇmarum* (testing fineness of gold), *Kaliṅgam paga-rnarum* (dealing in cloth), *sembu-niṟai koṇmarum* (brass-workers); *Also see Kañca-kārarum semбu-seyyuṉarum maraṅ-kol taccar karuṅgai kollar, Kaṇṇuḷ-viṉaiñar maṇṇiṭṭāḷar poṉ-s'ey kollar naṉ-kalam-tarunar*—Silappadigāram.

Māgada-viṉaiñarum Māraṭṭa-kammarum, Avanti-kollarum, Yavaṉa-Taccarum, Taṇḍamiḻ viṉaiñar tammoḍu kūḍi, Koṇḍiṉid-iyaṟṟiya kaṉ-kavar-s'eyviṉai (Maṇimēgalai-p. 212).

Here it may be pointed out that though the Māhiṣyas were also called Yavanas, the Yavanas mentioned above were not natives of this country; but had settled themselves in various parts of India and spoke their own language. They mingled freely with craftsmen. Their influence and skill were felt and acknowledged in many places. The extent to which they co-operated with the artisans of the Tamil country resulted in producing admirable works of art that captivated the eyes of all people.[68]

Yavanas are described[68a] as beautiful in appearance and as having quarters[69] of their own. Paṭṭiṉappālai informs us that foreigners from different countries came and settled themselves together in the coastal region of Puhār and mingled with the people of the place, specially of the artisan classes.[70] One of the Tamil commentators calls the Yavanas by the term Mileccar, *i.e.* foreigners and *pulampeyar-mākkaḷ*, *i.e.* those that move from one place to another; and another calls them Turukkar.[71] They wore swords and were employed to guard the entrances of palaces.[72] Peruṅgaḍaḷi refers to no less than 100 *cēris* of Yavanas and says that the king of the Yavanas paid tribute to Pradyōdana.[73] Yādavaprakāśa, in his Vaijayanti, states that the Cīna (also termed Kharambara), Gāndhāra (also known as Dihaṇḍa) and Yavana (named also as Huruṣkara) are *janapadas* on the northern region.[74] They put on shorts and coats[75] and were provided

68. "*Yavaṉa-taccarum taṉ-ḍamiḻ-viṉaiñar tammoḍūṅ-kūḍikkoṇḍiṉidiyaṟṟiya kaṉ-kavar-s'eyviṉai.*"

68*a*. *Silappadigaram*: Indiraviḷavūr⁰; 1.9f.

69. *kayavar maruṅgir kaṉpōr taḍukkum, payanara vaṟiya yavaṉar-irukkai.*

70. See 1.216f.

71. *Ibid.*

72. *Silappadigaram.* Ūrkāṉ⁰: 1.66f.

73. *kaḍi-madil vāyil kavaliṟ-chiṟakka aḍal vāḷ-yavaṉar*

74. *Ibid.* p. 804. (Perungadai)

75. अथोदीच्या जनपदास्तत्र चीनाः खरंभराः ।
गांधारस्तु दिहण्डारस्युर्यवनास्तु हुरुष्कराः ॥

with belts; they had sandals to their foot. While some of them engaged themselves in trade, selling salt and pepper, others were busily engaged in industrial arts. There was a marked preference to their art productions. They made different kinds of boxes (*yavana-pēlai*), cushions and beds (*yavana mañcikai*) (*s'onaga-s'idukkṣin-kūdu*) a kind of covering for the head,[76] and they made also sculptural representations of women holding lamps in the hollow of their hands and metallic lamps with the figure of a swan on the top.[77] Of the many articles made by the Yavanas mention may be made of *Yavanappāvai*,[78] *yavanar-punarppu*,[79] *makara-vinai*,[80] *peruvali-pūdam*,[81] *yavana-vaiyam*, (vehicle), the last of which was provided with a kind of machinery.[82] The *yavana*-artisans are called *yavana-āriyar* and *yavanattaccar*[83] and they produced excellent artistic works.[84]

They were skilled in making massive artistic columns, tastefully decorated with life-like natural scenaries and with polished pedestals and wreaths which supported exquisitely executed *vimānas*. They showed a very high degree of technical skill in making sculpture and in wood carving. Not only were they engaged in art and industry, but some of them found employment in the army, where, it is said, they served the king faithfully even

76. *mey-ppai-pukka veruvarum-tōrrattu valipunar yākkai van-kan-yavanar*. Mullaippāṭṭu.1.60f.

77. *Vend-idan-tōrum—lūndu tiri-kkōlii—kaivayir=konda neyy-agar-choriyum—yavanappāvaiyaliavilakku*. Perungadai: 1.47.1.173f. Nedunalvādai refers to the same thus: "*yavanar-iyarriya vinai-manpāvai vilakku kaiyēndu taiyaliniraiya ney sorindu parūu=ttirikkoliiya kurūltalai nimiri* 1.101f.

Ōtima-vilakkin=uyarmis'ai-kkonda s'ōnagakkūmbin mēlitta anna-vilakku.

78. *Perungadai*, p. 239.

79. *Ibid*, p. 93.

80. *Ibid*. p. 623.

81. *Ibid*. p. 932-3.

82. *arum-pori nunitta yavana-kaivinai kandagu vanappir-pandil* and *perum pori vaiyam* (III.5.l.48 f and 65).

83. *Ibid*. I. 38, *l*. 233.

84. *Ibid*. p. 407.

when the latter was at times enraged and behaved harshly towards them. They guarded the entrances of high forts, kept order in big streets and roamed about mounted on horseback.

The Rathakāras' thus played a very important part in the economic life of the ancient Indian people. They divided amongst themselves almost all the valuable industries as well as the arts and crafts of India and executed their work with such dexterity that they earned for India a very high reputation in the civilised world. The Rathakāras were indispensable to every other class of people in the land. The Brahmins needed their help for making the *srik*, *sruva* and other articles for performing their sacrifices; the Kṣatriyas depended on them for forging armours, weapons such as javelins, spears, swords, shields, *piṇḍi*, *pāla* etc. and numerous other engines of destruction with several devises; the Vaiśyas received their weights and measures; and the cultivator their ploughs and rods. Innumerable varieties of ornaments were made by them. Carts, coaches, chariots and *rathas* (massive cars) with lively images and scenes were of their working. Several stringed instruments with appropriate sounding boards were yet other productions of theirs. Vessels of various shapes and forms to serve different purposes were devised and made in gold, silver, bell-metal, brass and copper. From the simple hut of the poor man to the palaces of the nobility with different apartments for diverse objects were constructed by them. Tastefully decorated dancing and music halls, assembly rooms, theatres and pavilions, which each city possessed and fortifications had also been erected by them.

Among the Rathakāras, the highest attainment is attributed to the *Sthapati*. He is so termed because it is he that brings into existence the magnificent structures of kings and gods. He is reputed for his intelligence, truthfulness, upright conduct and his ability to reason well. He is said to be learned in the Vedas aud S'āstras and to have acquired a thorough knowledge of architecture. He is a good sculptor and could dexterously wield his pencil and brush and he is a master of painting. He is accurate in his calculations, knows astrology and the portents of birds. He can distinguish what is auspicious from what is not. He can test the earth and find out flaws in stones.

The patronage shown by kings and potentates to the Rathakāras who embellished the country with monolithic and sculptural monuments, mostly of a religious character, dedicated to the worship of Jina, Buddha, S'iva, Viṣṇu etc. with a profusion of images of exquisite workmanship and natural scenery of plant, bird and animal life, which speak to the Rathakāra's keen power of observation, great æsthetic sense, close study of the *āgamas*, *itihāsas* and *purāṇas*, never erring proportion of parts, high technical skill and imagination.

Besides architecture (*vāstu*) and sculpture (*s'ilpa*) and shaping of images (*pratima*) of gods and goddesses and making of chariots (*rathas*) etc. Rathakāras indulged also in painting.

A word may now be said about the assembly that functioned in the villages inhabited by the Rathakāras. It seems to have been constituted in the same way as the *Ūr* and the *Sabhā*; and commanded the confidence of all the subjects whose interests it represented. The local assemblies were subject to and were parts of a bigger body that had its jurisidiction ranging over several districts and held its meetings at different places within it. Both the smaller units and the provincial body worked under the aegis of the king of the land and were guided by the laws laid down in the Dharmas'āstras. The assemblies of the *Rathakāras* were responsible to the state for collecting the fees and incomes that were due from the villages where they functioned in respect of the lands held by them and in respect also of the out-turn in the various industries in which they were working. They managed all endowments made to temples and other public institutions left in their charge and carried out the intentions of the donors. The constitutional nature of the bodies is apparent in the transactions they made and in the implicit obedience of the constituents. Like the other administrative bodies such as the *Ūr* and the *Sabhā*, the *Rathahāras* also appear to have kept in view the ultimate object, *viz*. of upholding the virtuous and punishing the evil-doer (*duṣṭar keṭṭu siṣṭar varditiḍuvadāga*). It has been noted already that the functioning members possessed good qualifications and had high ideals. They knew Tamil, Sanskrit and the *dēs'iya-bhās'a*. They were learned in politics, *āgamas*, *purāṇas*, *dhanurvēda* and a work called *Muttamiḻ-mālai*

and bound themselves to see that *aṟam* (*i.e. dharma*) prospered and the evils of *kali* dwindled.

One must guard against taking these assemblies of the Rathakāras for what were termed *sambūya samutthāna*. The latter were something like private companies or guilds of artisans, traders and industrialists who worked for personal gains with an invested capital. They had no authority over the public and the people were not represested in them. Whereas the rural administrative institutions of the *Ūr* and the *Sabhā* were subject to the assembly of the subdivisions in which the villages were situated, the assembly of the Rathakāras was subject to the authority not only of the subdivision (*nāḍu*) but also of a bigger body having a wider jurisdiction extending over the assemblies of all the *nāḍu* situated in eighteen districts. We may reiterate that the adminstrative character of the Rathakāra assembly is clearly indicated in the statements made in the following passage:

(i) *Aṟuvagai-ttoḻil nālvagai Rathakārarōmum Samaya-saṅkētigaḷōmum niṟaivaṟa niṟaindu kuṟaivaṟakkūḍiy-irundu s'eyda samaya kāriyamāvadu.* (*line 5*).

(ii) *ellāv-iḍaṅgaḷilumuḷḷa aṟuvagaittoḻil nālvagai Rathakārarkkum nāḍugaḷil samaya-saṅkētigaḷukkum aṟivitta samaya kāriyamāvadu.* (*line* 7 f.)

It is particularly worthy of note that the decision was communicated to *all the Rathakāras* and all the members of the subdivisional assemblies and not to some select people among them.

The words *samayakārya* and *samayasaṅkēta* used in the above passage offer some difficulty of understanding and have been variously interpreted. As such we may offer some remarks by way of explaining the terms.

Though protection of subjects was generally the duty of kings, it was very often entrusted to be carried on by rural assemblies in ancient India. These latter were named *grama, dēs a* (*janapada*), *jāti, kula, s'rēṇi, gaṇa,* etc, called in Tamil inscriptions as *Ūr Nāḍu* (*Periya-Nāḍu*), *Brāhmaṇa-Ūr*,

kuḍumbu and *nagara*. These names generally take after the place of jurisidiction of the respective assemblies. All *vyavasthas*, laws, regulations and transactions made by kings were called *Rājakritadharmas* while those done by other bodies functioning in the country as protectors of subjects were termed *samaya dharmas*. Just as the king was guided by his learned coun$cellors, ministers and others, the various bodies mentioned above conducted their proceedings with a fixed quorum of members who acted in accordance with the established laws of the country (*nija dharma avirōdhēna*), held discussions and came to an unanimous settlement (*amaiyappēs'i is'aiyacceydu*) which was termed *samaya-kārya* (assembly transactions) while the members taking part in the deliberation were known as *samaya-saṅkētins*. The laws relating to the abrogation of these assembly transactions are given under the section *Samvidvyatikrama* by all law-givers. It may be pointed out that *samvida* in Manu (V. 219. Ch. VIII) is replaced by *samaya* (*Vv*. 220, 221 *Ibid*) and Kullūka Bhaṭṭa calls it *saṅkēta* in his comment on *v*. 219. Vijñānēs'vara notes :

पारिभाषिक धर्मेण व्यवस्थानं समयः

Yādavaprakās'a gives its synonyms in the following verse.

समयस्तु क्रियाकारे संकेते चरिते सताम्

Vaijayanti, *V*.52 of Trayakṣarakāṇḍa, Pulliṅgādhyāya.

Another very informing definition of *samaya-kriya* (*kārya*) is furnished by Bṛhaspati. It tells us when such a thing is done and why. The text runs as follows :

ग्रामश्रेणि गणानाञ्च संकेतः समयक्रिया ।
बाधाकालेतु सा कार्या धर्मकार्ये तथैवच ॥
चाटचौरभयेबाधाः सर्व्वसाधारणस्मृताः ।
सत्रोपशमनं कार्यं सर्व्वैर्नैकेन केनचित् ॥

Here, the first line defines that *samayakriyā* (assembly transaction) is the joint deliberation (*saṅkēta*) of (any of the bodies

called) *grāma* (functioning in villages), *s'rēṇi*[85] (assembly of artisans including merchants and traders) and *gaṇas* (other groups). It will be remembered that these bodies were engaged in affording protection to subjects. The second line explains that this *samayakriyā* must be done when any impediment or harassing was apprehended or at the time of making laws or endowments. The third line tells us that very commonly harassment was caused to subjects by *cāṭas* and *cauras*. These terms will be explained presently. The fourth line enjoins that the allaying of (apprehended harassment) must be done by the assembly (as a whole) and not by any single person.

From Yādavaprakās'a quoted above and from this text of Bṛhaspati it will be clear that *saṅkēta* and *samayakriyā* mean one and the same, *i.e.* they are synonyms and that it refers to the joint transaction of administrative assemblies of men engaged in affording protection to people.

The word *cāṭa* had been the subject of much learned disquisitions. Instead of entering into any long discussion on the word, we need only quote a text of Yājñavalkya where this word occurs with the terms *caura* and *bādha* substituted by their synonyms *taskara* and *pīḍa* and cite the explanation offered thereon by the erudite commentator Vijñānēs'vara, adding our translation of it in the light of the latter.

चाटतस्करदुर्वृत्तमहासाहसिकादिभिः ।
पीड्यमानाः प्रजारक्षेत् कायस्थैश्च विशेषतः ॥

Yājñavalkya I. 336.

Subjects must be protected against harassment caused by hypocrits who confiding with the people cheat them; against thieves, against those who use violence and principally against accountants.

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85 सजातिशिल्पि संहत्यामषण्डः श्रेणिरावलौ ।
V. 90 of Dvayak° Nanālinga of Vaijayanti.
श्रेणयो नानाजातीनां एकजातीयकर्मोपजीविनां संघताः
Vijñānēs'vara on *V.* 30 of Yājñavalkya II.

चाटाः = प्रतारकाः विश्वास्य ये परद्रव्यं अपहरन्ति

तस्कराः = प्रच्छन्नापहारिणः

साहसिकाः प्रसह्यापहारिणः

Besides the above quoted verse, two others, one of Manu and another of Yāñavalkya also refer to harassment generally caused to subjects by district officials and state that protection must be given to them and the offender punished. These are :

राज्ञो हि रक्षाधिकृताः परस्वादायिनः शठाः
भृत्या भवन्ति प्रायेण तेभ्यो रक्षेदिमाः प्रजाः ॥

Manu VII ; *v.* 123.

"Servants of the king, whom he has appointed guardians of districts, are generally knaves who seize what belongs to other men : from such knaves let him defend his people."

ये राष्ट्राधिकृतास्तेषां चारैर्ज्ञात्वा विचेष्टितम्
साधून्संमानयेद्राजा विपरीतांश्च घातयेत्

Yājñavalkya I.338.

The king, by ascertaining through spies the actions of persons appointed over districts, should honour the good and punish the wicked.

What is said about the king is applicable to the rural assemblies which, as had been noted, are known from inscriptions to have been entrusted with collection of taxes, administration and rendering of justice. This is the view taken by the commentators Kullūka Bhaṭṭa [86] and Vijñānēs'vara [87] also.

Finally it may be said that *samaya* has nothing to do with religion, with which it had been and likely to be often confounded

86. राजशब्धोऽपि नात्रक्षत्रिय जाति वचनः किंतु अभिषिक्त जनपद पुरपालयितृ पुरुषवचनः

Manu. *VII*.].

87. See under Yājñavalkya II. 1.

and it is also necessary to caution against the use of these texts, in the case of guilds which work purely for gain under *samaya samutthāna*.

TEXT

1. Svasti Srī[II*]Upajīva . . . . . s'ālāparandivyam baṇdhim=ēvam hi sādhanam I . . . . . mata vis'vakarmmā jaga. . . . . nta vis'vaka. . . . . maya tōṉṟiya pattay nigaḻā-niṉṟa uḷḷada peridu. . . . . . ttākkal Kaṇṇālar sañ. . . . . pperumaiyum ivar piṟand=udaiyad=Āriya.-

2. nādum peṟṟudaiyad=Uttarāpatiyum = aḷand=udaiyadu Tavappaḷḷiyum jayittuḍaiyadu makara-kkoḍiyum koṟṟavarum dēvargaḷum koṇḍā . . . . . l purindē muṉbu kāṭṭun-tirukkūt[tai]muḷuduñ=kaṇḍu piṉbu kāṭṭa-vēṇum=eṉṉa Īs'aṉ purakkaḍai kāṭṭa=ppeṟṟuḍaiyōr Kāṭṭāvūr-ammaiyālē kaṉaka-maḷai poḷivittu nā-

3. ṭṭāruñ=Kalikālaṉ dēs'am-ellām nāṭṭuvittōr aṟattoḍu purindav=ākka-pperukkamum s'iṟappoḍu polinda s'elva naṉgu pey-um kuṉṟāda ku[ḍ] ḍippiṟappum kūṟiya-sol vīṟuḍaimaiyum maṉṟu-kalaṅgā maṉai-vāḻkkaiyum ivarōḍu māṟāṉār nīṟāgaiyum s'eṉṟavi-ḍattu=chcheṟu veṟṟiyum Dēvēndirarāl aruḷ peṟudalum pugaḻum putra-lābhamum s'atru-nās'amum maṟṟum=eppērppaṭṭa samasta-

4. udayaṅgaḷaiyum-uḍaiyarāy yāvarun-toḻum toḻi (yal) laraṇa akka-s'ālaiyum paḷḷiyum ā[ṉ]aiyāgavuḍaiya aṟu-vagai-ttoḻil nāl-vagai Ratnakārarom S'akābdam āyiratt-orunūṟṟ-eṉ(b)batt-āṟadaṉāl śeliāṉṉṟa Kaṟkaṭa-nāyaṟṟu apara-pakshattu daśamiyum S'aṉik-kiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Rōs'aṉi-nāḷ tōgar-irundu piṟar takkaḍakki mikk-irunda samayaṅgalum vēṇḍum vagaiyē nilaipeṟutti Bhūmidēvi-

5. inid-irutti pūtalattē pugaḻ-perukki Nāmagaḻum na . . . nalam=irutti Sutavali-vaḷanāṭṭu Rājādhirāja-chchaṟuppēdimaṅga-lattu Vaṇḍuvarāpati . . . . aṟuvagai-ttoḻil nāl-vagai Ratha-kārarōmum Samaya saṅkētigaḷōmum niṟaivara niṟaindu kuṟaivaṟa-kkūḍiy-irundu śeyda samaya-kāriyamāvadu [II] Arunmoḻidēva-vaḷanāṭṭum Rājēndraśōḻa-vaḷanāṭṭum Umbar-nāṭṭum Geyamāṇik-ka-vaḷanā-

6. ṭṭum . . . . . ṭṭum Uyyakkoṇḍār vaḷanāṭṭum Śutta-malli-vaḷanāṭṭum Nittavi . . . . . Pāṇḍikulāśani . . . . nāṭṭu . . . . . kkulakāla-vaḷanāṭṭum Rājagambhīra-vaḷa-nāṭṭum Kōṇāḍāṇa Kaḍalaḍaiyad-Ilaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷa-vaḷanāṭṭum Vaḍagarai Irājarāja vaḷanāṭṭum Vikkiramaśōḷa-vaḷanāṭṭum Virudarājaba-

7. yaṅkara-vaḷanāṭṭum Rājādhirāja-vaḷanāṭṭum Kulōttuṅga-śōḷa-paṭṭiṉattum Muḍikkaḷattalattu-pPudukkō . . . . . ṭiṉattuppā . . . . . Neṟ-paṇṇaiyilum maṟṟum-ellāv-iḍaṅgaḷilumuḷḷa aṟu-vagai-ttoḻil nāl-va-

8. gai Rathakāraṟkum Nāḍugaḷil Samaya-saṅkētigaḷukkum aṟivitta samaya-kāriyamāvadu Suttavalli-vaḷanāṭṭu Muḍich [chōḷanāṭṭu Ā][88] laṅguḍiyāṉa S'rī-Jaṉaṉādachcharuppēdimaṅgal-attu . . . . yaṉārkku i-ṉṉāyaṉā . . . . . Tirunīṟṟu-chchōḷaṉ-tiru-ttōppil Āpaṟsahāyapperumāḷ ēriyaruḷa Muḷudum-vaḷḷvaṉeṉ-

9. ṟu nam pērāl nām seygiṟa tiru-maṇḍapattukku vēṇḍum neṟṟigaḷukkum idu āṇḍn-tōr . . . . yāvadu[II*]i-ṉṉāḍuga-ḷil=uḷḷar pōr-oṉṟukku . . . . dāga vanda kā . . . . ṉum Vīramāhēs'va . . . . . . pichcharōm ka . . . . taṇḍi= ppaṇḍārattilē mudal=iḍakkaḍavargaḷ āgavum [II*] ipparis'ukku oḻittu . . ttē puṟañcho-

10. ṉṉār-uṇḍāmāgilu[m*]maṉ-kalam tagarttum veṉ-kalam paṟittum Saṅkētigaḷāi muṭṭu . . . . s'aiōḍuṅ-kūḍi ūṟ [u] koḷḷakkaḍavadāgavum . . . . yāga iṉavari taṇḍi . . . .[89] ṉa tiru . . . . vēṇḍuvaṉa s'eyyak-kaḍavargaḷāga sammadittu padiṉeṉ-vishai-

11. yattu aṟu-vagai-ttoḻil nāl-vagai-Rathakāraṟkum oḻugu s'eḍi paṇṇi . . . . kkāttiruppadiyil ko- . . . . . yarāvar . . . . Karumāṇikka Āchāriya . . . . . . kulakāla-s'ōḷa-Āchāriyaṉ eḻuttu [I]Maṅgalattu kāniyudaiya Periyanāṭṭ-Āchariyaṉ eḻuttu [I*]

88. The letters in brackets have been filled up from No. 438 of S. I. I. Vol. VI.

89. The letters lost here are *mudala*.

12. Kūttaṉ-chakravarttipperumāṉāṉa Naḍuvirukkai sayiñaik-kum [II*] Ivai vigu . . . ṉāṉa Irakāra-chakravatti eḻuttu [I*] Ippaḍikku ivai Ko . . la . . . . kayāṉa Nambi s'eyvāṉ eḻuttu [II*] Ippaḍikku ivai Vaḷḷal eḻuttu [I*] Kañchānagarattu Aṉbaṉāṉa Iradakārachchakravartti eḻuttu [I*]

13. Paḻuvūr . . . . Nambi s'eyvā . . . . ṉambaril . . . . . Rājarāja-Vātarāyaṉ eḻuttu [I*] . . . . pattoṉ-badu-vaḷanāṭṭu Padiṉeṉbhūmi-Iradakārachchakravatti eḻuttu [I*] uḍaṉkūṭṭattu-

14. s'āmadāyam Ambarāttōṉi . . . . [I*] . . .[90] ivai Piḷḷaiyāṉ eḻuttu [I*] Ippaḍikku ivai Iḷaiyāṇḍāṉāṉa Irāja-gambīr-Āchāriyaṉ eḻuttu [I*]

15. Pāmbuṉiyil . . . . . . kāṇiyuḍaiya tachcharil Paṟuvāyaṉāṉa Tiruvēmbaḍi-pperun-tachchaṉāṉa Mayaṉādarāyaṉ eḻuttu [I*] I-kkōyil kāṇi-

16. yuḍaiya . . . . . tti eḻuttu [I*] Uḍaiyapiḷḷai-yāṉa Periyanāṭṭu-pperun-tachchaṉ naḍu-virukkaiyēṉ eḻuttu [I*] Iv-ūr taṭṭāril

17.........

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90. Fill this gap with the letters *Ippaḍikku.*

V

INTRODUCTION

THE subjoined inscription is engraved on the southern wall of the Sokkanātha temple at Pirānmalai in the Tiruputtur taluk of the Ramnād district. It was copied by the Madras Epigraphical Department in 1903 and registered as No. 154 of that year's collection. Its text in Tamil script is given in the South Indian Inscriptions (Texts) Vol. VIII under general No. 442.

The inscription commences with the introduction *S'rī-Bhūmidēviputrāṇām* ending with *citramēḷasya-s'āsanam,* adds *Tribhuvanās'raya Pañca-s'ata-Vīra s'āsanam* and is followed by another introduction which begins with *Lakṣaṇa-Lakṣmī-vilāsālaṅkṛita* and mentions the following collective bodies:

A—*Māḍavīdi-Padiṇeṭṭu-ppaṭṭiṇam*—18 townships having streets with palatial buildings in them.

32 *Vaḷarpuram.*

64 *Kaḍigaitāvaḷam.*

Ceṭṭis who advance the cause of Dharma.[91]

Chief of *Ceṭṭis.*

Kavarai who are characterised as "*tavar-oṉṟ-illā-taṉmai-oḻukkattu,*" *i.e.* "whose conduct was such that not a trace of delinquency could be detected."

Cāmuṇḍēs'vari deputed by Kās'yapa, the *ōlai-vāriyaṉ* sent by Rudra and the twelve classes of servants of rare heroism capable of executing anything that is thought of.

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91. The word *taṉmai* here has to be taken for *dharma.*

After mentioning these groups, who were evidently represented in the collective body that transacted the business hereunder described, the inscription proceeds to record the eulogy of the Provincial Assembly of the 18 districts situated in four quarters and resorted to by all classes of people (*sakalalōka padinen-viṣayattōm*). This assembly, it is said, had set before it the king's sceptre and conducted with patience and sympathy the *samaya-dharma* [92] (*i.e.* the transactions of the assembly) so ably that, as a result, people swelled in numbers and were free from cares, that justice increased and evil deeds lessened; that fame spread (far and wide) and that all enemies were subdued; and righteousness advanced.

B—Then are noted the undermentioned five groups of "*Dis'ai-Āyirattaiññūṟṟuvar.*" Each of them is said to have been renowned in all the quarters:

Dis'ai-Āyirattaiññūṟṟuvar of *Eṭṭai-vaṭṭai* and *Iḍai-vaṭṭai.*
do of *Ēru-s'āttu* and *Iṟaṅgu-s'āttu.*
do of *Aṟṟai-vaṭṭai* and *Aru-vaṭṭai* and *Nārattaṟai* and *Nālvattarai.*
do of *Araṅgam* and *Taraṅgam.*
do. of *Nāḍu* and *Nagaras.*

Of these, the first and the third are not easy to understand, the second might refer to assemblies having supervision over or regulating the conduct of traders engaged in exports and imports, settled principally in coastal towns with royal emporiums and the fourth refers to provincial Agricultural and Administrative assembly and Provincial Mercantile assembly in charge of commerce and trade, mostly inland. The last, *i.e.* the fifth has been noticed already in dealing with Aṉbil and Tiṭṭaguḍi inscriptions.

92. *Tanmai* used for *dharma.*

C—The above are followed by eleven other groups who are designated *Nagarattār, viz.*

The *nagarattār* of Aruvimānanagaram *alias* Kulas'ēkhara-Paṭṭiṇam in Kēraḷasiṅga-vaḷanāḍu.

The *nagarattār* of Eripaḍainallūr-Vaḍamaṭṭai in Tuvarāpati-nāḍu.

The *nagarattār* of Pudutteru *alias* S'ēranārāyaṇapuram in Puramalai—nāḍu.

The *nagarattār* of Koḍumbāḷūr-maṇigrāmam of Kaḍalaḍai-yādilaṅgai-koṇḍas'ōḷa-vaḷanāḍu in Urattūr.

The *nagarattār* of Maṇiyambalam in Tirukkōṭṭiyūr.

The *nagarattār* of Aḷagāpuram *alias* S'eḷiyanārāyaṇapuram in Kēraḷasiṅga-vaḷanāḍu.

The *nagarattār* of Sandarapāṇḍiyapuram in Ayyapoḷil-vaḷanāḍu.

The *nagarattār* of Aḷagaimānagaram *alias* Jayaṅgoṇḍas'ōḷap-perunteru in Kaḷavaḷi-nāḍu.

The *nagarattār* of Maṇḍaligan-Gambīrapperunteru.

The *nagarattār* of twelve *nagarams* including Jayaṅgoṇḍa-s'ōḷapuram.

The *nagarattār* of Karuvūr, Kaṇṇapuram, Paṭṭōli, Talaiyūr, Rājarājapuram, Kīraṇūr, and other cities (*nagaraṅgoḷ*).

The above mentioned *nagarattār*, it may be noted, were functioning in places which were termed *Paṭṭiṇam* or *Nagaram, Puram, Ūr* and *Perunteru.* Most of the places are situated in the ancient Pāṇḍya territory, except those in the eleventh group which are in Koṅgu-maṇḍalam. The organisation of the *nagarat-tār* of these places were evidently represented in the composite assembly that met at Pirānmalai.

The object of the inscription, which is a transaction made by several rural administrative bodies, may be briefly stated as follows.

As the sacred temple of Mārgavagaittīrttamudaliyār Nāyaṇār-Uḍaiyār Aḷagiya Tirucciṟṟambalamuḍaiya Nāyaṇār situated at the fort of Tirukkoḍuṅkoṇṟam hill in Tirumalai-nāḍu, with its

sacred tank, *matha* and *tirumadaivilāgam* had been left under the protection of (the assembly of the) Eighteen Districts (*padinen viṣaya*), the above mentioned bodies, *i.e.* the twenty-four mentioned above in **A, B** and **C** assembled in full and without deficiency (in the number required to form the quorum) in the *tirukkāvaṇam* of the temple, held convincing discussions resulting in unanimous agreement and made the (following) *samaya-dharma-kārya, viz.* For the *tiruppaḍi-māṟṟu* (*i.e.* sacred daily offerings) of the god, for the *tiruppaṇi* (*i.e.* repairs to the temple), for *tirupparis'aṭṭam* (*i.e.* sacred cloth), for *tirumēṟpūccu* (*i.e.* for sacred anointments), for the *matha* and for other *nimandas* (requirements), the undermentioned fees have been assigned :—

ARTICLES	Kās'u per *podi*	Kās'u per *pakkam*	Kās'u per headload	Kās'u per cart
Uppu (Salt)	1	½	½	10
Nel (Paddy)	1	½	...	10
Aris'i (Rice)	2	1	...	20
Payaṟu (Green gram)	1	½	...	20
Avarai (Beans)	1	½	...	20
Tuvarai (Dhal)	1	½	...	20
Āmaṇakku (Castor seed)	½	¼	...	10
Pākku (Arecanuts)	4	2	...	...
Milagu (Pepper)	5	2½	...	...
Mañjaḷ (Turmeric)	3	1½	...	...
S'ukku (Dried ginger)	3	1½	...	...
Veṅkāyam (Onion)	2	1	...	...
Kaḍugu (Mustard)	2	1	...	...
Jīrakam (Cumin seed)	2	1	...	...
Kaḍukkāy (Chebulic Myrobalans)	1	½	...	...
Nelli (Embelli Myrobalans)	1	½	...	...
Tāṇri (Beleric Myrobalans)	1	½	...	...
Irumbu (Iron)	2	1	..	20
Parutti (Cotton)	2	1	½	10
Nūl (Yarn or thread)	5	2½	2	20
Parum Puḍavai (Thick cloth)	10	5	...	...
Meṇ Puḍavai (thin cloth)	20	5	5	...

ARTICLES	Kās'u per *podi*	Kās'u per *pakkam*	Kās'u per headload	Kās'u per cart
Ulandu (a kind of thread)	...	...	5	...
Melugu (Wax)	10	5	4	...
Tēn kudam (Honey pot)	4 *Kās'us*			
El (Sesamum)	4	2	1	...
Kōni (Gunny)	2	1	...	...
S'andanam (Sandal)	30	...	...	...
Agil	30 *kās'us* per bundle.			
Pattu (Silk)	30 *kās'us* per *Pattāvalaccumai.*			
Paninīr kudam (Rose Water)	30 *kās'us* per pot.			
S'avari-mayir	30 *kās'us* per *s'umai.*			
Karpūra-tailam	20 *kās'us* per *s'umai.*			
Sāndu, *Pulugu*, *Javvādu*	15 *kās'us* per *kombu*. For headloads of these articles 3/4th of the rates prevailing for *pākkam* may be levied.			
S'āvādu	2 *kās'us.*			
Kudirai (horse)	$\frac{1}{4}$ *accu*			
Ānai (elephant)	$\frac{1}{2}$ *accu*			

The transaction ends by saying: "We the assembly of *Dis'ai-vilangu Dis'ai-Āyirattaiññūrruvar* made this kind of transaction for other articles also in the same manner." This is followed by signatures.

The following divisions and villages occur in the inscription, Avanis'ūlāmani-nādu, Pāmbuni-nādu, Manni-nādu, Tondai-nādu, Talaiyūr-nādu, Kēralas'inga-valanādu, Puramalai-nādu, Tuvarāpati-nādu, Kadaladaiyādilangaikondas'ōla-valanādu, Urattūr-kūrram, Ayygapolil-nādu, Kalavali-nādu, Aruvimānagaram, S'okkamangalam, Porkatti, Ānmanūr, Ambar, Paranai Uratiūr, Pālaiyūr, Kōvalūr, Arumbākkam, Kōval, Tulār, Pāttam, Ānaippādi Muttuppādi, Kalasappādi, Nāval, Marudūr, Tirucciräppalli, Alagāpurapparru, Pūdamangalam, Neduvayal, Tirukkōttiyūr, Manarkudi, Peruñcūvūr Pākkam, Pannai, Alisirpākkam, Sikkal, Niyamam-Sirrambar, Sundarapāndyapuram, Vennainallūr, Sembangudi,

pāmburam, Pērāmbūr, Kāḷaiyārkkāvu, Eripaḍainallūr, Maruttuvakkuḍi Māṅguḍi, Koḍumbāḷūr, Tillai, Pudutteru, Nāṭṭārpaḷḷi, Tirunallūr, Vāguḍi, Tiruveṭpūr, Vāḍavūr, Aḍaippuḍi Māttūr, Virāṇam, Kaṇṇaṅguḍi, Jayaṅgoṇḍas'ōḻapuram, Abhimāṇas'ōḻapuram, Pēṭṭai, Toṭṭipuram *alias* Rājakēsaripuram, S'ivapādas'ēkharapuram, S'ōḻapāṇḍiyapuram, Kōṭṭaikkarai, S'ēkarīpuram, Karuvūr, Vañjimānagaram, Muḍivaḻaṅgus'ōḻapuram, Kīraṇūr, Kaṇṇapuram, Muḍikoṇḍāṉ, Koṟṟaṉūr, Paṭṭōli, Talaiyūr, Rājarājapuram and Vaḍamaṭṭai.

The introduction of a purely Provincial Administrative assembly found in a Tirukoilur inscription [93] has much in common with a part of the introduction in the composite record under notice which comes from Pirānmalai.[94] Both the introductions are given below so that their common features and differences may be easily seen. The common features are marked by an underline in both.

TIRUKOILUR	PIRANMALAI
(1) S'rīmatām Bhūmi putrāṇām s'rīmat gō-kshīra-jīvinām Sarva-lōka-hita-nyāyam Chitramēḻisya s'āsanam [‖] Jīyatām jagatām=ētat pālanam rāshṭra pōshaṇam [।] s'āsanam bhūmi-putrāṇām chāturvarṇa-kulōtbhavam —S'rī-Bhūmidēvikku makkaḷāgi nigaḻā	(1) S'rī Bhūmidēvi-putrāṇām kshāra- kshīrōda pūrvinām । Jayanti chitralōkānām rājya paripālakā- nām । sarvalōka-hitārtāya Chitran ēḻisya s āsanam [‖] 1.1
(2) (Seṉ-Tamiḻ Vaḍa-kalai terind- uṇarndu nīti kōṭṭu nipuṇarāgi naṟu-malar vāḍāt= Tirumagaḷ pudalvar ettis'aikkum viḷakkāga iṉs'ollāl-inid-aḷittu vaṉs'ollāl maṟaṅ=kaḍindu i-[95] chchatus-	(2) muṉṉiyāga muḻavoli vaḷarkkum muttamiḻ pāḍalōḍ=āḍal- ōvā viḻavum vēḷviyum viḷaṅgiya vīdiyuḍai (1.4)

93. *S.I.I.* Vol. VIII. No. 129.

94. *Ibid.* No. 442.

95. The phrase *catus-sāgara parimaṇḍalattu* occurs at the beginning of Nos. 40, 41 and 47 with *samasta* substituted for *catus*.

sāgara parimaṇḍalattu
chandrāditta-
varaiy=inid=ōṅga
Vātarājaṉ kāṟṟ-
as'aippa Varuṇarājaṉ
niṟṟelippa
Dēvarājaṉ tis'ai viḷakka
ettis'ai
magaḷirum inidu viṟṟiruppa)

(3) Teṅgum palāvum-tēmāñ-
chōlaiyum
vāḷaiyum kamugum
vaḷarkoḍi
mullaiyum Pūvaiyum
Kiḷḷaiyum
pulivuḍaṉ keḷumi [96]
vāṭṭamiṉṟi kūṭṭam
perugiy=aṟam vaḷara kKali
meliya-
ppugaḷ peruga=ppuṟai [97]
paṉiya tis'ay=
anaittuñ= cheviḍupāḍā-
mal [98] s'eṅkōlē
muṉṉāgavum chittiramēḷiyē
deyvam[99] āgavum[100]
sempoṟ-pas'um-paiyē
vēliyāgavum
kshamaviṉōḍum-karuṇaiy-
ēydi-chchamaiya-daṉmam-
inidu naḍātti nigaḷāniṉṟa

(4) Uttama-nīti uyar-peruṅ-
kīrtti
muttamiḷ mālai muḷuvadum
uṇarnda
Chittiramēḷi-pperiyanāṭṭōm

(3) Teṅgum palāvun=tēmāñ
chōlaiyuñ=
chandaṉa-vēlichchaṉbaga-
ppoḷilum
vāḷaiyum=kamugum
vaḷar-koḍi-mullaiyum
(1.5)
pūvaiyun-kiḷḷaiyum
polivoḍu
Sūḷa vāṭṭam-iṉṟi kūṭṭam
peruga aṟam vaḷara-kKali
meliya-ppugaḷ peruga-
ppagai
paṉiya tis'ai-anaittuñ-
cheviḍupaḍā=chcheṅkōle
muṉṉāgavuñ-chempoṟ-
pas'umpaiyē deyvamāga-
vum (1.6)
kshamaiviṉōḍum-karuṇaiy-
ēydi=chchamaiya-
daṉmaiy-
inidu naḍātti nigaḷāniṉṟa

Nāṅgu-dis'ai samasta-lōka
ppadiṉeṉ-Vishayattōm
(11.4 to 6)

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96. *keḷumi* is replaced by *sūḷa*.
97. *puṟai* is replaced by *pagai*.
98. *paḍamal* is replaced by *paḍa*.
99. *deyvamāgavum* takes the place of *vēliyāgavum*.
100. This is omitted in the Pirāṉmalai introduction.

It will be seen that (1) the Sanskrit portion varies slightly in wording, that (2) the Tamil introductory portion commences differently in the two, but from (3) *teṅgum palāvum* is almost identical with slight variations which are indicated in footnotes. The portion commencing with *uttama nīti* and ending with *periyanāṭṭōm* of the Tirukoilur inscription, which is absent in the Pirāṉmalai record is found as a short introduction in Anbil [101] and Tiṭṭagudi [102] introductions. The words *eḻupattoṉbadu nāṭṭu* precedes *uttama nīti* in No. 291 of *S.I.I.* Vol. VIII and qualify *Periyanāṭṭu*. The concluding words *Cittirameḻi pperiya-nāṭṭōm* of the Tirukoilur inscription is expanded into *Nāṅgu-dis'ai samastalōka ppadiṉeṉ viṣayattōm* in the Pirāṉmalai record. These longer introductions sometimes assume the abridged form "*Samasta sāgara parimaṇḍalattu kṣamaiviṉōdun-karuṇaiy-iydi Samaiyadaṉmam-inidu naḍātti nigaḻāniṉṟa Nāṅgu-dis'ai Padiṉeṉ-Viṣayattōm.*" [103]

One of the Nellore inscriptions [104] commences after the words "*Tiruvāykkēḻvi muṉṉāga,*" [105] with the Sanskrit introduction "*S'rīmat-Bhūmidēvi putrasya catur-varṇa-kulōtbhava sarvalōkahitārtāya Citramēḻasya s'āsanam*" followed by the Tamil introduction "*Aṟam vaḻara kaṟp=amaiya pugaḻ peruga manuneṟi taḻaippa .... niyāya-naḍāttugiṉṟa*" and introduces the Provincial Assembly of that part of the country, *viz. Jayaṅgoṇḍas'ōḻamaṇḍalattu Pedai-nāṭṭu-viṣayam āṉa*—here are given names of twelve *viṣayams*—*uṭpaṭṭa Periyanāṭṭu-viṣayattōmum.* It states that the Assembly ordered that the three kinds of villages—big, middle and small—shall give for the temple, 1,000, 500 and 200 *kuḻi* of land, respectively for the upkeep. The concluding portion, *viz.* "such of the *villages* that do not obey this order shall be deemed to have committed an offence against the *Periya nāḍu* (Provincial

101. *S.I.I.* Vol. VIII. No. 198.
102. *Ibid.* No. 291.
103. *Ibid.* Vol. VI. Nos. 40 & 41.
104. *Ibid.* Vol. V. No. 495.
105. Indicating that the organisation was functioning under the authority of the king and that the latter had the cognisance of it.

Assembly): and all individuals that cultivate and hold plough should not say (by way of excuse) that the land belongs to a Brāhmaṇa lady and that they are only servants," is noteworthy.

Omitting the above extracted portion relating to the Provincial Agricultural and Administrative Assembly from the composite Pirāṉmalai introduction, we get to that part of it which mentions a number of organisations which were functioning in Paṭṭiṇam, Puram, and Tāvaḷam with a kind of introduction showing their mythical origin. The Mysore Archæological Report for 1917, gives on page 44 a similar description from an inscription from Jōḍi Kempaṇapura (Chāmarājanagar Taluk). It records an agreement by warriors of Kellūr *alias* Rājādhirāja-catur vēdimaṅgalam in Padi-nāḍu of Gaṅgaikoṇḍas'ōḷa-vaḷanāḍu in Muḍigoṇḍas'ōḷa maṇḍalam, who are described as the asylum of the whole world, as having their chests embraced by the characteristics of the 500 *Vīra s'āsanas*, as valiant in the three worlds, as descended from Vāsudēva-Gaṇḍuḷi and Mūlabhattira, as the subjects of the Paramēs'vara of the city of Aiyapoḷil, and as diligently conducting and maintaining the *dharmas of the community in all religions*,[106] in such a way as conduced to the growth of virtue, feebleness of Kali and the increase of fame, deeming the sceptre as their god (to the effect that in order to provide oil for lamps)— *Mēlēṟṟamuḍaiyār Mēṉaḍaippāvāḍaiyiraṇḍum Kīḻēṟṟamuḍaiyār oru puḍavaiyum* and every swordsman one cloth (*oru pāvāḍai*).

Tribhuvanās'raya Pañca s'ata Vīra s'āsanam Lakṣaṇa-Lakṣmī-vilāsālaṅkrita Vakṣa-sthala Bhuvanaparākrama S'ri-Vāsudēva-sahāyaka(n) Dēvimūlapatralōpa S'rī Aimpoḻir-Paramēs'varikkum Bhūmidēvikkum makkaḷāgiṉigaḷāniṟṟa maditoḍa poṅgu māḍavīdi padiṉeṭṭu paṭṭiṇamum muppattiraṇḍu vaḷarpuramum aṟupattu-nālu kaḍigi-ttāvaḷamum tāvaḷattirundu daṇmai-vaḷarkkum s'eṭṭiyum s'eṭṭiciṟapputtāṉum tavaroṉṟillā taṇmaiyoḷukkattu-kkavarai-taṉṉōḍu Kāsyapan viḍutta cāmuṇdis'variyum Uruttiran viḍutta Ōlaivāriyaṉum uṉṉiyadu muḍikkum oṇ-ḍiral vīrar paṉṉirutirattu paṇis'eymakkaḷum.

106. This rendering is wrong for '*samaya dharma*.'

"*Tribhuvanās'raya Pañcas'ata Vīra s'āsanam*" seems to be the introduction for the transactions conducted by the assembly of the army. This is "seen from a part of the concluding portion of a Kuḍumiyāmali inscription the text of which is given in 'The inscriptions of the Pudukottai State.' This inscription [107] registers a joint transaction by the Assembly of the Army, the District Assembly and the Kaikkōḷas of Kaṭṭapāḍikoṇḍas'ōḷavaḷanāḍu. The words used in it for the Assembly of the Army are "*Mūṉṟupaḍai-paḷiyili Aiññūṟṟuvar,*" *i.e.* "the blameless five hundred men (constituting the army of) the three regiments." The same occurs as "*Mūṉṟukai-Mahāsēṉai*" in one of the Tiruvālis'varam inscriptions [108] and as "*Paḍai-piḍitta Pallāyiravar*" of the "*Mūṉṟukai*-Mahāsēṉai" in another inscription. [109] "*Mūṉṟukai Tiruvēḷaikkārar*" and "*Mūṉṟukaiyar*" appear to be other forms of the same.[110]

The adjectival clause "*Lakṣaṇa Lakṣmī* etc." meaning the descendants of *Dēvimūlabhadralōpa Paramēs'vari* of the city of Aimpoḷil and Bhūmidōvi, the helpmates of Vās'udēva of world-prowess whose "breast is adorned by being the abode of the beautiful goddess Lakṣmī" seems to qualify the members of all the groups that followed, *viz.* (i) *Mādavīdi-Padiṉettuppaṭṭiṉam*, (ii) *muppattiraṇḍu vaḷarpuram*, (iii) *Aṟupattunāṉgu Kaḍigaittāvaḷam*, (iv) S'*eṭṭis* and S'*eṭṭi s'iṟappu* (sons) and (v) *Kavarai* and *Paṉṉirutirattu-paṇis'ey-makkaḷ*.

Madi-toḍa-poṅgu-māḍa-vīdi qualifying *paṭṭiṉam* in (i) occurs in the shortened form *māḍa-vīdiyār* in an Uttaramallūr inscription where they are given the right of choosing men for testing the fineness of gold.[111] In the present inscription they clearly refer

107. No. 125 of the Pudukottai Inscriptions. See also *A.R.* on *S.I. Ep.* for 1905, Part II. para 17.

108. No. 120 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1905.

109. *Ibid.* No. 616 and No. 753 of *S.I.I.* Vol. V.

110. No. 1396 of *S.I.I.* Vol. IV and No. 542 of *Madras Epigraphical collection* for 1916.

111. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXII.p.145 ff. S'aṅkarappāḍiyār and S'ēṉai also figure in it.

to the corporate body in the Paṭṭiṇam of which eighteen are said to have existed in the Province. Tamil literature speaks of this class in similar terms.[112]

(ii) *Puram* like *Paṭṭiṇam*, is a distinct designation given to the quarters where resided the industrial and mercantile classes of people. It is in some cases called *Nagaram*. That *Puram*, *Peruntеru* and *Nagara* are synonymous terms is seen from many inscriptions. Dēvāram mentions about ten Nagarams, *viz*. Tiruccirai, Tiruviḷanagar, Tiruvānūr, Tiruvēṭkaḷam, Tirukkāḷi, Kōṇērirājapuram, Tirumāḷam, Tiruttiṇainagar, Tiruvālampuram, Tiruppāmburam and Tirukkacci. *Nagarattār* comprised of (*nagarattukku-camainda*) *vyāpārigaḷ*, *s'āliyar*, *saṅkarapāḍiyar* and *vāṇiyar*. The wide range of their power and influence and the constitutional nature of the body will be apparent from the following references. Nagarattār issued orders (*niyōga*) directing[113] payment of *Āyam* and *Taragu* by the shops in front of temples, made gifts of land[114] and taxes on looms.[115] The Nagarattār had *vāriyars* or committee members and accountants.

Kriṣi vāṇijya pas'u pālanādi vārtām tad-ārambhādi dhanōpāyārthān s'ikṣitāt.

(iii) Kaḍigaittāvaḷam represented the residence of another group or class of people. In a Malavalli inscription,[116] *ghaṭikāsthāna* takes the place of *Kaḍigaittāvaḷam*. As such *tāvaḷam* is only a variant of *sthāna*. It may here be noted that *sthāna* is used by Manu in *Ch. VII. v.* 56 and the commentator Kullūka Bhaṭṭa takes it to refer to what constitutes the principal strength of a dominion: it consisted of *Daṇḍa* (army), *Pura* (mercantile quarters or *Nagara*) and *Rāṣṭra*.[117]

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112. *Perumbāṇāṟṟuppaḍai*, 1.331.

113. S.I.I. Vol. VIII, No. 712; No. 82 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1911.

114. No. 84 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1911.

115. No. 194 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1910.

116. Ml. 74.

117. See his comment on *Manu*. VII. v. 56.

(iv) *S'eṭṭis* are stated to have taken their seats in the *tāvaḷam* and rendered justice and conducted their transactions. By '*seṭṭi*' is no doubt meant '*s'rēṣṭin*' which occurs in a large number of Sanskrit inscriptions where the term denotes the chief member or President of the mercantile corporation. The description given in our inscription shows clearly that '*kaḍigai*' or '*ghaṭikā*'[118] need not necessarily be an educational or Vedic institution.

(v) Who are meant by the 'faultless *Kavarai*' is not clear. At present *Kavarai* forms a class of people.

Samaya dharma, as we have already said, refers to the transactions of rural assemblies as distinguished from *Rāja dharma*, the transactions of the king or the State. In this connection we may note Kullūka Bhaṭṭa's comment on Manu. VII.1.

Rājas'abdō'pi nātra Kṣatriya jāti vacanaḥ |
Kiṁtu abhiṣikta janapada-pura-pālayitṛi-puruṣa vācakaḥ ||

As such all members of rural assemblies of every description regularly constituted making *vyavasthas* or *samaya dharmas* come under one class, *viz.* rulers. Hence the *dharma* (*vyavastha* or transaction) made by these have to be obeyed as well as those made by kings.

(vi) The sixth class which consisted of twelve classes of servants of rare heroism (*oṇ-diṛal vīrar paṇṇiru-tirattu paṇis'ey-makkaḷ*) may have reference to servants employed in various capacities in the army and mercantile business as well as in civil departments such as *meykāppār*, *parivārattār*, *vēḷaikkārar*, *paḍaiyilār*, *perundanattu* or *s'irudanattu paṇis'eymakkaḷ*, *valañjiyar*, etc. These are said to have originated *Cāmuṇḍi* and *Ōlaivāriyar* of *Rudra* referred to previously.

The information available in the inscriptions enables us to say that a State or kingdom was for easy administrative purposes divided into groups or provinces each consisting of eighteen districts and

118. *Kaḍigaiyar-iraiyili* and *Kaḍigai-kaḷattu-kōl* occur in Nos. 10 and 51 : *S.I.I.* Vol. VIII.

having within it eighteen *Paṭṭiṇam* (*Padiṉeṉ-viṣayam*), thirty-two *Vaḷarpuram* and sixty-four *Kaḍigai-tāvaḷam*. Our idea that a province consisted of eighteen districts is strengthened from No. 496 of *S.I.I.* Vol. V and others.

There is little doubt as to the places indicated by the designation of *Paṭṭinam*, *Puram* and *Tāvaḷam* having been occupied by men engaged in commerce, trade and industry. *Paṭṭiṇam* is a place situated near the coast with broad streets abounding in palaces (called in Tamil *Māḍam*) where merchant princes lived. In these streets were left articles of various descriptions which arrived from distant places to be shipped. These could not be accommodated in warehouses or in closed doors provided with lock and key, guarded night and day by the watchmen provided by merchants and by armed men deputed by the State.[119]

A fine instance of what a *Puram* was had been furnished by me elsewhere.[120] It remains to say what is meant by *Tāvaḷam*. That the word stands merely for '*sthāna*' is known from the replacement of '*Kaḍigai-tāvaḷam*' by '*Ghaṭikā-sthāna*' in a Malavalli record.[121] An inscription from Nellore dated in A.D. 1188 corresponding to the tenth year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga III registers an assignment of *āyam* to the temple of Tiruppāṟkaḍal-Paḷḷikoṇḍaruḷiya-Perumāḷ by the *paḍai-mudalis* (*i.e.* chiefs of army) and *Nagarattārs* (*i.e.* the Assembly of the merchants) of the three streets of Vikramasiṅgapuram. The *āyam* (which means revenue) consisted of a *ciṉṉa* on the collection of *s'uṅgam vari* (*i.e.* tolls) realised on behalf of the king (*Piḷḷaiyār*) at specified rates on all articles that are either measured or weighed and one *ciṉṉam* that shall be paid by the bridegroom and the bride in all marriages. After recording the above, the inscription proceeds "The *Samaya nārāyaṇa-danma* (for *dharma*) *Tāvaḷar* declared that similar assignments shall be made in other *maṇḍalams* also." This endorsement by the *samaya-dharma-Tāvaḷar* on the joint transaction of the army chiefs and the assembly of merchants (*nagarattār*)

119. *Perumbaṇāṟṟuppaḍai.* 11.319f and *Maduraikkāñci* 1.317.
120. Ep. Ind. Vol. XXII. p. 146.
121. MI. 74. See also p. 280. Note 116.

shows that they were a similar or allied body and possessed authority over many such organisations in the country. The assignment of the revenue could only be done by a regularly constituted body invested with authority to collect the State revenue and made responsible for it to the State just as the *Sabhā* and the *Ūr* were. It is quite possible that the amount appropriated would have been duly intimated and made good just as the *Sabhā* and the *Ūr* did, whenever they, on their own authority, remitted the taxes on lands.

More positive evidence to show that the Provincial (Agricultural) Assembly (*Citramēḷi-periya-nāṭṭu-Viṣayattōm*) was also concerned in administration and was discharging the duties of the State is furnished in another Nellore inscription,[122] the relevant portion of which is extracted below and translated; and it may be noted that the inscription commences with the words "*Tiruvāyk-kēḷvi-muṇṇāga*" indicating the cognition by the king, and is followed by a short Sanskrit verse which is a characteristic feature of the records of Provincial Agricultural Assembly as noticed above:

Aṟam vaḷara=kkaṟp-amaiya=ppugaḻ peruga Maṇu-neṟi taḻaippa niyāyam naḍāttugiṉṟa

"who rendered justice (in such a way as to contribute) to the growth of virtue, stability of chastity, increase of fame and the spreading of the path of Manu."

These words show clearly that the assembly was carrying out the functions of the State and was engaged in the maintenance of Law and Order.

The Provincial Assembly is, in this inscription said to have consisted of the members of several districts (*Periya-nāḍu*) and included the members of *Peḍai-nāḍu* and twelve other subdivisions which are named. The assembly ordered the assignment of lands by villages, according to their size, to the Viṣṇu temple at Nellore.

It may be noted that the province of this assembly is different from the one mentioned in an Ālaṅguḍi epigraph and different also from that mentioned in the Pirāṉmalai record.

122. No. 496 of *S.I.I.* Vol. V.

Having shown that the Provincial Agricultural Assembly exercised State powers, it may be well to sound here a note of warning against its being confused with what might be called the 'Guild.' The latter was not unknown to ancient law-givers. They termed it *Sambhūya Samutthāna*. And the distinguishing features of it were (*a*) a joint contribution of capital and (*b*) conducting of work for the sake of profit. These two features are entirely absent in the aim and working of the Provincial Assembly.

Constitutionally each of the places falling under the broad category of *Paṭṭiṇam, Vaḷarpuram* and *Kaḍigai-Tāvaḷam* formed a separate unit, and the body in each seems to have sent representatives to take part in the transactions of the Provincial Administrative Assembly.

As each district (*Vaḷanāḍu* or *Periya nāḍu*) was divided into a number of subdivisions (*nāḍu*) which had separate assemblies of their own, it is natural to suppose that the subdivisional assemblies were represented in the bigger Provincial Assembly; and this fact is made clear from the second Nellore inscription noticed above, which states that *Periya nāḍu* included the assemblies of several subdivisions.

From the Pirāṉmalai and other inscriptions relating to the Provincial Assemblies which were the biggest organisations in the country, it is seen that they were actively engaged in peaceful pursuits of production, industry and trade.

The composition of this body is indicated by such words as *cātur-varṇa-samudbhava, samastalōka*, etc. The members were drawn from all classes, not confined to any one class as in the case of *Veḷḷāṉ-vagai-ūrār* or *Brāhminical-Sabhaiyār*. They were learned both in Sanskrit and Tamil (*Vaḍa kalai* and *Sen-Tamiḻ*), had studied politics and had become experts and their duty was the protection of the people and the country (*Rāṣṭra-pōṣana* and *Rājya-paripālana*).

If homogeneity characterised the composition of the members of the smaller rural administrative institutions, such as the *Kula* or

Kuḍumbu, Cēri, Ūr and *Sabhā*, that functioned in villages, community of interest marked the cementing force of the members in the wider Provincial Organisations.

The reason for the non-recognition of this all powerful body which wielded the greatest influence in the land is due to a mistaken notion that the word *Samaya* or *Samaya-Dharma* or *Samaya-Kārya* meant the *Dharmas* of the community in all religions.

We have very clear ideas about *Samaya* or *Samaya-Dharma*. It was called also *Samvada* or *Saṅkēta* in the Dharmasās'tras. That it meant 'transactions of every kind made, consistent with what is inculcated in the *S'āstras*, by rural administrative assemblies such as those that were functioning in the villages (*Grāma*), subdivisions or districts (*Dēs'a* or *Janapada*) including mercantile corporations, etc. (*Grāma-dēśasaṅgha*), is made plain by the writers and commentators of the Dharmas'āstras. *Samaya-dharma* had the same force as the laws made by kings and were enforced by the State. The following quotations will make the above fact plain:

(i) Commenting on *Sarva-dharmān* (Yaj. II. 3) Vijñānēśvara notes *S'āstrōktān sāmayikāṁs'=ca dharmān.*

(ii) The same authority also notes "*dēs'ādi samaya-dharmasyā pi dharmas'āstra avirōdasya dharmas'āstra-viṣayatvāt na prathak upādhānam* and quotes

(iii) *Nija dharma avirōdhēna yastu sāmayikōbhavēt sō'pi yatnēna saṁrakṣyō dharmō rājakritas'ca yaḥ* (Yaj. II. 186).

(iv) *Pāribhāṣika dharmēṇa vyavasthānam samayaḥ.*

(v) Manu VI. *Vv.* 219-20. *Yō grāma-dēs'a-saṅghānām kritvā satyēna samvidam, visamvadḥēt narō yō lōbhāt taṁ rāṣṭrāt vipravāsayēt nigrihya dāpayēt ca ēnam samaya-vyabhicāriṇam.*

See that *samaya* is equated with *samvada*, in the above.

(vi) Brihaspati (S. B. E. XVII.p.5)

Grāma-s'rēṇi-gaṇānām ca saṁkētaḥ samayakriyā

Having made clear that by *samaya-dharma* is meant the transaction of a rural administrative body (and that it has not any exclusive reference to religion) and shown that it has the same force as the king's own enactment both from the *dharmas'āstras* and from internal evidence in the introduction of this inscription, any lingering doubt, as regards Provincial Assembly's functioning in the place of the king in the country, may be dispelled by the employment of the term *rājyaparipālakānām* to this assembly.

No. 442 or S.I.I. Vol. VIII. (A. R. No. 154 of 1903)

On the south wall of the Sukhanātha temple at Pirāṇmalai in the Tiruppattur Taluk, Ramnād District

TEXT

1. Svasti S'rī [1*] S'rī-Bhūmidēvi-putrāṇām kshāra kshīrōda-pūrviṇām [1*] Jayanti Chitralōkānām rājya-paripālakā-nām Sarva-lōka-hit[ārthā]ya Chitramēḷī[s'a*] s'āsa-nam [II*] Tribhuvanās'raya-Pañcha-s'ata-vīra-ṣāsa-nam[II*] Lakshṇa-Lakshmī-vilāsā-

2. laṅkṛita-vakshasthala-bhuvana-parākrama s'rī-Vāsudēva-sahāyakaṉ Dēvi-mūlapatralōpa-s'rī-Aimpoḷir-Paramēs'-varikkum Bhūmidēvikkum makkaḷāgi nigaḷāniṉṟa madi toḍa-poṅgu māḍavīdi padiṉeṭṭu-ppaṭṭiṉamum muppattiraṇḍu vaḷarpuramum aṟupattu-nā-

3. lu Kaḍigai-ttāvaḷamum tāvaḷatt-irundu taṉmai vaḷarkkuñ=cheṭṭiyuñ = Cheṭṭichiṟapputtāṉun = tavar-oṉṟ-illāda taṉmaiy=oḷukkattu=kKavarai taṉṉoḍu Kās'yapaṉ viḍ-utta Chāmuṇḍēs'vaṟiyum Uruttiraṉ viḍutta Ōlaivāri-yaṉum uṉṉiyadu muḍikkum oṉ-ḍiral vī-

4. rar paṉṉiru-taṟattu=ppaṇi-s'ey-makkaḷum[1*]muṉṉiyāga muḷav-oli vaḷarkkum Muttamiṭ-pāḍalōḍ-āḍal-ōva viḷa-vum vēḷviyum viḷaṅgiya vīdiyuḍai=tteṅgum palāvun=tē-māñ-jōlaiyum chandana-vēli=chchaṇbaga=ppoḷi-lḷum vāḷaiyuṅ-kamugum vaḷar-koḍi-mul-

5. laiyum pūvaiyuṅ-kiḷḷaiyum polivoḍu s'ūḷa vāṭṭam-iṟri = kkūṭṭam peruga aṟam vaḷara = kKalimeliya = pugaḻ peruga = ppagai paṉiya = ttis'aiy-aṉaittuñ-cheviḍupaḍa = chcheṅkōlē muṉṉāgavuñ = chempoṟ-pas'um-paiyō deyvamāgavu-

6. ṅ = kshamaiviṉoduṅ = karuṇaiy-eyda-[101] chchamayadaṉ-maiy = inidu naḍātti nigaḷāṉiṉṟa nāṅgu dis'ai samasta-lōka = ppadiṉeṉ-vishaiyattōmum [I°] Eṭṭai vaṭṭaiy-iḍaivaṭṭaigaḷiṟ = ris'ai-viḷaṅgu tis'aiy-āyiratt-aiññūṟṟu-varōmum Ëṟus'ātt-Iṟaṅgus'āttu-t-

7. tis'ai-viḷaṅgu tis'aiy-āyiratt-aiññūṟṟuvarōmum Aṟṟaivaṭṭaiy = Aruvaṭṭai Nārattarai Nalvāttarai tis'ai-viḷaṅgu tis'aiy-Āyiratt-aiññūṟṟuvarōmum Aṟaṅgaḷ-Taraṅgaḷiṟ tis'ai-viḷaṅgu-tis'ai-āyiratt-aiññūṟṟuvarōmum Nāḍu-Nagaraṅgaḷir tis'ai-viḷaṅgu-

8. tis'aiy-āyiratt-aiññūṟṟuvarōmum 1 Kēraḷasiṅga-vaḷanāṭṭu Aruvimāṅagaramāṉa Kulas'ēkharappaṭṭanattu nagarattōmum Tuvarāpadi-nāṭṭu Eripaḍainallūr Vaḍamaṭṭai-nagarattōmum Puṟamalai-nāṭṭu Puduttteruv = āṉa S'ēr-anārayaṇapurattu nagarattōmum Kaḍalaḍayād-ilaṅgai-koṇḍas'ōḷa-vaḷanā-

9. ṭṭu Uṟattūr-kūṟṟa = kKoḍumbāḷūr Maṇikkirāmattu nagarattōmun Tirukkōṭṭiyūr Maṇiyambalattu nagarattōmum Kōraḷas'iṅga-vaḷanāṭṭu Aḷagāpuramāṉa S'eḷiyanārāya-ṇapurattu nagarattōmum Aiyapoḻil-vaḷanāṭṭu = kKalvāyal-nāṭṭu = chChundarapāṇḍiyapurattu nagarattōmum Kaḷavaḷi-nāṭṭu Aḷagai-

10. mānagaram-āṉa Jayaṅgoṇdas'ōḷapperunteru-nagarattōmum Maṇḍaligaṉ Gambhīrapperunteru nagarattōmum Paṇ-ṇiraṇḍunagarattu Jayaṅgoṇḍas'ōḷapuram uḷḷiṭṭa nagarattōmum Karuvūr Kaṇṇapuram Paṭṭāli Talaiyūr Rājarājapuram Kīraṉūr uḷḷiṭṭa pala nagaraṅgaḷil nagarattōmum Tirumalai-nāṭṭu

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101. Read 'ēydi' as in No. 129 of *S.I.I.* Vol. VII.

11. Tirukkoḍuṅkuṉṟattu=ttirumalaiy=aḍivārattu Māṟkka-vagaitt[r*]tta-mudaliyār-Nāyaṉār Uḍaiyār Aḻagiya-Tiruchchiṟṟ-ambalamuḍaiya-Nāyaṉār tirukkōyilum tirukkuḷamum maḍamun=tirumaḍai-viḷāgamum Padi-ṉeṉ-vishayattār rakshaiy-ādalāl in-Nayaṉār-kōyil tiruk-kāvaṉattu niṟaivaṟa-niṟain-

12. du kuṟaivaṟa-kkūḍi amaiya=ppēs'i is'aiya=chcheyda Daṉmasamaiya-kāriyamāvadu [Il*] Iṉ-Nāyanārkku=ttiruppadi-māṟṟukun-tiruppaṇikkun - tirupparis'aṭṭan=tirumēṟpūchchukku inda maḍattukkum maṟṟum-uḷḷa nimandaṅgaḷukkum chandirādittavaṟ s'elvadāga vait-tukkuḍuttapaḍi āvadu [II*] uppu-po-

13. di oṉṟukku[102] kās'u oṉṟum uppu pākkattukku-kās'u araiyum uppu-ttalaichchumai oṉṟukku=kkās'u araiyum uppu vaṇḍi oṉṟukku kāsu pattum neṟ-podi oṉṟukku=kkās'u oṉṟum neṟ-pākkam oṉṟukku=kkās'u araiyum nel vaṇḍi oṉṟukku kās'u pattum aris'i vaṇḍi oṉṟukku

14. =kkās'u irupadum aris'i=ppodi oṉṟukku=kkās'u iraṇḍum aris'i=ppākkam oṉṟukku=kkās'u oṉṟum payaṟṟam vaṇḍi oṉṟukku=kkās'u irupadum payaṟṟam podi oṉṟukku=kkās'u oṉṟum payaṟṟam pākkam oṉṟukku=kkās'u araiyum avarai tuvarai vaṇḍi oṉṟukku=kkās'u irupadum avarai tuvarai-

15. ppodi oṉṟukku=kkās'u oṉṟum pākkam oṉṟukku=kkās'u araiyum āmaṇakkaṅkoṭṭai vaṇḍi oṉṟukku=kkās'u pattum podi oṉṟukku=kkās'u araiyum pākkam oṉṟukku=kkās'u kālum pākku=ppodi oṉṟukku=kkās'u nālum pākkam oṉṟukku=kkās'u iraṇḍum miḷaku podi oṉṟukku=

16. kkās'u aiñjum miḷaku pākkam oṉṟukku=kkās'u iraṇḍ-araiyum mañjaḷ podi oṉṟukku=kkās'u mūṉṟum pākka-ttukku=kkās'u oṉṟ-raiyum S'ukk=ppodi oṉṟukku=kkās'u mūṉṟum pākkattukku=kkās'u oṉṟ=araiyum veṅgāyam kaḍugu jīragam podi oṉṟukku=kkās'u iraṇḍum pākkattukku=kkās'u oṉ-

102. After this *karidikkuk* is repeated.

17. ṟum kaḍu nelli tāṉṟi-ppodi oṉṟukku=kkās'u oṉṟum pākkattukku=kkās'u araiyum iruppu vaṇḍi oṉṟukku=kkās'u irupadum iruppu podi oṉṟukku=kās'u iraṇḍum pākkattukku=kkās'u oṉṟum parutti vaṇḍi oṉṟukku=kkās'u pattum podi oṉṟukku=kkās'u iraṇḍum pākkam oṉṟukku=kkās'u o-

18. ṉṟum nūl vaṇḍi oṉṟukku=kkās'u irupadum nūl podi oṉṟukku=kkās'u aiñjum pākkam oṉṟukku=kkās'u iraṇḍ-araiyum talaichchumaikku=kkās'u iraṇḍum parutti talaichchumaikku=kkās'u araiyum parum-puḍavai podi oṉṟukku=kkās'u pattum meṉ-puḍavai-ppodi oṉṟukku=kkās'u irupadum parum puḍavai

19. ppākkuttukku=kkās'u aiñjum meṉ-puḍavai pākkattukku =kkās'u aiñjum talaichchumaikku=kkās'u aiñjum uḷaṇḍu-pīli talaichchumai oṉṟukku=kkās'u aiñjum meḷugu podi oṉṟukku=kkās'u pattum pākkattukku=kkās'u aiñjum talaichchumai oṉṟukku=kkās'u nālum tēṉ kuḍam oṉṟukku=kkās'u nālum eṭ=po-

20. di oṉṟukku=kkās'u nālum pākkam oṉṟukku-kkās'u iraṇḍum talaichchumai oṉṟukku=kkās'u oṉṟum kōṉigaippaṭṭu≠podi oṉṟukku=kkās'u iraṇḍum pākkattukku=kkās'u oṉṟum talaichchumai oṉṟukku=kkās'u oṉṟum Sandaṉam podi oṉṟukku=kkā'su muppadum agil s'umai oṉṟukku=kkās'u muppadum paṭṭuppaṭṭā-

21. vaḷa=chchumai oṉṟukku=kkās'u mūṉṟum paṉṉīr=kku(ṭ)ṭam oṉṟukku=kkās'u muppadum s'avari-mayir chchumai oṉṟukku=kkās'u muppadum kaṟpūrattayilan-chumai oṉṟukku=kkās'u irupadum s'āndu puḷugu s'avvādu kombu oṉṟukku=kkās'u padiṉaiñjum i=chcharakkukkaḷukku pākkattil koḷḷum-paḍikku talai-chchumai oṉṟu mukkāl keḷvadā-

22. gavum s'ēmāḍu[103] oṉṟukau=kkās'u iraṇḍum kudirai oṉṟukku achchu=kkāḻum āṉai oṉṟukku achchu araiyum

103. Read *s'ēvāḍu*.

maṟṟum eppērppaṭṭa sarakkukkaḷukkum - immachchādigaḷile[104] koḷvadāga=chchamaiya ppiḍipāḍu paṇ-'ṇikkuḍutōm ti'sai-viḷaṅgu tis'ai āyiratt=aiññūṟṟu varomum [II*] Aruvimāna-

23. garam eḻuttu[l] Pārviḷaṅ-kuḍi-kiḻavar tulaiyāda-s'elvar Sokkamaṅgalamuḍaiyār [1*]Poḷḷanāṭṭuvēḷar Poṟkaṭṭiyuḍaiyār[1*]Avaṇichchūḷāmaṇināṭṭuvēḷār Āṇmaṇūruḍaiyār Māṇikkarāyar [1*]Āmbarkiḷār Aḻagaimāṇār[1*] Paravaiyuḍaiyār Maṇḍalavarais'ar Uṟattūruḍaiyāṇ Aḻagaikkō-

24. ṇār[1*]Pālaiyūruḍaiyāṇ Paṭṭiṇasuvāmi[1*]Pāḷaiyūruḍaiyār Vaṇigarāyar Puḷiyaṅguḍaiyār[1*]Pāmbuṇināṭṭu Vēḷār Kōvalūruḍaiyār Tamiḻadaraiyar[1*]Arumbākkiḷār Vaṇigarādittar[1*]Kōvalūruḍaiyār S'ivabattar [1*]Tuḷāruḍaiyār Namas'ivāyadēvar[1*]Paṭṭamuḍaiyār Āṇai Namadeṇṟa-Perumāḷ[1*]Aṇaippāḍiyuḍai-

25. yār Udaiyappiḷḷai[1*]Paravaiyuḍaiyār S'eṭṭiyāṇḍār[1*] Muṭṭappāḍiyuḍaiyār Toṇḍaimāṇār [1*]Kalasappāḍiyuḍaiyār Tiruñānasambandar[1*]Nāvaluḍaiyār Tiruñānasambandar[1*]Arumbākkiḷār Toṇḍai-nāḍu-kiḻavar [1*] Uṟattūruḍaiyār Tiruttoṇḍattogaiyār[1*]Marudūruḍaiyār S'akkaravartti Kiḷippaṟṟumār[1*]Tiruchchi-

26. rāppāḷḷiyuḍaiyār Aḻagāpura[kara]ppaṟṟuḍaiyār Udaiyappiḷḷaiyāṇa Irunedikkuḍaiyār[1*]Maṇṇi-nāṭṭu Vēḷār Poṇṇambalakkūttar[1*]Pūdamaṅgalamuḍaiyār Purandarar[1*]Neduvāyiluḍaiyār Paḷḷiyaṇimār [1*] Tirukkōṭṭiyūr Maṇaṟkuḍaiyār Āṇandakkūttāṇḍār[1*] Ma-

27. ṇaṟkuḍaiyār Tiruvambalapperumāḷ[1*]Peruñchēvūruḍaiyār Aṇiyaraṅga=tTādaṇ[1*]Pākkamuḍaiyār S'ri-Nandagōpar[1*] Paṇṇai-kkilavar Pāṇḍiyadaraiyar [1*]Aḷis'irpākkamuḍaiyār Ba[k*]ttarkkaruḷs'eyvār[1*] Aḻagaimāṇagar v[ai]s'iravaṇar[1*] S'ikkaluḍaiyār Vaḷudikkōṇār[1*] Aḷis'iṟpākkamuḍaiyār Pollādapi-

104. **Read** *immariyādiyilē.*

28. Ilai[1*]Aņaippāḍiyuḍaiyār Tirumuṇḍamaḷagiyār[1*] Niyamattil Āvaṇiyuḍaiyār S'eppamuḍai=chChambandar[1*] S'iṛrambalamuḍaiyār Amarakōṇār[1*]Toṇḍaināḍu-kiḷavar S'ivadavaṇapperumāṇ[1*]Sundara-pāṇḍiyapuram Veṇṇainallūruḍaiyār Tillaināyagappiḷḷai[1*] Sembaṅguḍaiyār Peṛṛapillai [1*] Pāmbu-

29. ramuḍaiyār Uḍaiyapiḷḷai[1*]Pērāmbūruḍaiyār Tādar[1*] Kāḷaiyārkāvupperunteru Paṭṭiṇasvāmigaḷ Vaṇigar mātākkaḷ S'okkaññānasambandar[1*] Eṛipaḍainallūr Vēmbuḍaiyār[1*]Malaimaṇḍala mātākkaḷ[1*] Maruttuvakkuḍaiyār kannāvuḍaiyār [1*] Maruttu-vakkuḍaiyār S'okkaññanasambandar[1*] Vāḍāvuḍaiyār Nittarvālaiya-

30. — ṇ Kūttaṇāṇa Teṇṇakōṇār[1*] Māṅguḍaiyār Maṇṇaṇāṇa Māṇikkarāyar[1*]Māṅguḍaiyār Poṇṇināṭṭukkōṇār[1*] Koḍumbaḷūr Māḍattāṇḍār Tillaivēndar Piḷḷāṇḍāṇan Piḷḷaiyeṇādār Sundarapperumāḷāṇa Tamiḷakōṇār[1*] Pudutteru Nāvalūruḍaiyār S'ivabattar[1*]Nāṭṭārpaḷḷiyuḍaiyār Tirunīṛuparappinār[1*]Tirunallūruḍaiyār U-

31. ḍaiyapiḷḷai[1*]Vāguḍaiyār Vaḷudikkōṇār[1*]Tiruvēṭpūruḍaiyār Pāṇḍikkōṇār[1*]Vāḍavūruḍaiyār Daṇmapari-pālar[1*]Aḍaippuḍaiyār Appāṇḍār[1*] Māttuḍaiyār Kandappiḷḷai[1*] Virāṇakkuḍaiyār Āḷavandāṇāṇa Maṇḍalasuvāmi[1*] **I-p.Padiṇeṇ-Vishaiyattār paṇikka ivvamaiveḷudiṇeṇ i-n Nāyanār kōyiṛ-kaṇa-**

32. **kkaṇ** Kaṇṇaṅguḍaiyāṇ Kēraḷaṇ Battaṛkaruḷs'eyvāṇāṇa Sundarapāṇḍiya-Mūvēndavēḷāṇ ௳Idu Paṇmāhēs'vararakshai ௳Jayaṅgoṇḍas'ōḷapurattu Kāḷimaṇḍalamaṇigaḷ eḷuttu[1*] Samaiyachchakkaravatti eḷuttu[1*]Āḷkoṇ-

33. ḍāṇ S'ivabattan eḷuttu[1*]Kudandaippiriyaṇ eḷuttu[1*] Sōmaṇ Viḷumbāṇāṇa Uṛaiyūruḍaiyāṇ eḷuttu[1*]Abimāṇas'ōḷapurattu Ambalavaṇ Jayaṅgoṇḍas'ōḷa=chchilai-s'eṭṭi uḷḷitār eḷuttu[1*] Pāṭṭaiyil Uḍaiyāṇ Āpattukkāttāṇ eḷuttu[1*]Toṭṭi-

34. puramāṇa Rājakēs'aripurattu Tāvaḷakkoṇḍāṉ eḻuttu[1*] S'ivapādas'ēkarapurattu Kāḷi Muppēruḍaiyāṉ eḻuttu[1*] Samaiyapurandaraṉ uḷḷi[ṭṭār] S'ōḷapāṇḍiyapurattu=kKoḻundaṉ Uḍaiyār Samaiyamandiri eḻttu[1*] Māṇikkāṇḍān eḻuttu[1*] Paḷḷi-Ko-

35. ṅgāṇḍāṉ eḻuttu[1*]Kōṭṭaikkaraiyāṉ Kōḷaris'ēkaripurattu Kuṟṟaṉ S'ēvaṉ uḷḷiṭṭār eḻuttu[1*]Karuvūr-Vañjimānagaram Muḍivaḷaṅgus'ōḷapurattu Piḷḷai Kāṇaṉāṭṭuch-cheṭṭi eḻuttu[1*] Māṇikkaṉ; Eripattāṇḍāṉ eḻuttu[1*] Talaiyūr-nāṭṭu Naṉmuttavaṇigaṉ

36. Kīraṉūruḍaiyāṉ Koṅgamaṇḍala S'ilaiseṭṭi[1*] Kaṇṇapurattu Tēvaṉ S'amayamātā[1*]Muḍigoṇḍattu S'ōlai S'okkañānasambandaṉ[1*] Koṟṟaṉūruḍaiyāṉ Maṇḍalasuvāmi[1*]Kudiraiseṭṭigaḷil vaṇigar Nārāyaṇaṉ eḻuttu: ௳

TRANSLATION

(*Ll*.2-6). We, (the members of the assembly) of the Eighteen districts composed of all classes of people situated in the four quarters, setting before us the righteous sceptre of the king and respecting as goddess the purse filled with fine gold, justly conducted the transactions of the assembly (*samaya dharma*) with patience and sympathy in such a way that the populace prospered and were free from cares, that virtue prospered, *Kali* (*i.e.* sin) might fade, fame spread and enemity subdued,

that the eighteen *Paṭṭiṇam* with their streets having terraced buildings which rise so high as to touch the moon; the thirty-two *Vaḷarpuram* (growing towns); the sixty-four *Kaḍigaittāvaḷam* the Ceṭṭis and the Ceṭṭi greatmen, who, residing in the *tāvaḷam* (ever) contribute to the growth of (their) *dharma*; these along with the *Kavarai* of flawless righteous conduct, the Cāmuṇḍēs'vari sent by Kās'yapa, the *Ōlai-variyaṉ* sent by Rudra and the twelve classes of workmen of unique prowess that executed all conceivable behests,

the streets appearing in all splendour with their festivities and religious sacrifices and never ceasing dances conducted to the accompaniment of the beating of the big drum and the songs composed in the three kinds of Tamil.

and surrounded by cocoanut palms, jack trees, sweet mango plants, *s'aṇbaga* gardens with sandal-wood fence and plantains, areca-palms and the spreading jasmine creeper beautifully encircled by *pūvai* and parrots.

(*Ll* 6-10) With all the assemblies of the Thousand Five Hundred, *viz.*

Dis'ai Thousand Five Hundred of the Eṭṭaivaṭṭai and Iḍaivaṭṭai renowned in all quarters;

Dis'ai Thousand Five Hundred of the Ērus'āttu and Iraṅgus'āttu, renowned in the quarters;

Dis'ai Thousand Five Hundred of the Aṟṟaivaṭṭai and Aṟuvaṭṭai and Nārattarai and Nalvāttarai renowned in the quarters;

Dis'ai Thousand Five Hundred of the Araṅgam and Taraṅgam renowned in the quarters;

Dis'ai Thousand Five Hundred of the Nāḍu and the Nagara renowned in the quarters; along with

the Nagarattāṟ of Aruvimaṅgalam *alias* Kulas'ēkharapaṭṭinam in Kēraḷas'iṅga-vaḷanāḍu,

the Nagarattār of Eṟipaḍainallūr-Vaḍamattai in Tuvarāpati-nāḍu,

the Nagarattār of Pudutteru *alias* Sēranārāyaṇapuram in Puṟamalai-nāḍu,

the Maṇigrāmattu-Nagarattār of Koḍumbāḻūr in Uṟattūr-kūṟṟam a subdivision of Kaḍalaḍaiyādilaṅgaikoṇḍas'ōḻa-vaḷa-nāḍu,

the Nagarattār of Tirukkōṭṭiyūr-Maṇiyambalam,

the Nagarattār of Aḻagāpuram *alias* S'eḻiyanārāyaṇapuram in Kēraḷasiṅga-vaḷa-nāḍu,

the Nagarattār of Sundarapāṇḍiyapuram in Kalvāyil-nāḍu of Ayyapoḻil-vaḷa-nāḍu,

the Nagarattār of Aḻagaimānagaram *alias* Jayaṅgoṇḍas'oḻap-perunteru in Kaḷavaḻi-nāḍu,

the Nagarattār of Maṇḍaligaṟ Gambīrapperunteru, as also

the twelve Nagarams including Jayaṅgoṇḍas'ōḻapurattu-Nagarattār and

the Nagarattār of Karuvūr, Kaṇṇapuram, Taṭṭōli, Talaiyūr, Rājarājapuram, Kīraṇūr and several other cities (*Naga-raṅgaḷ*).

(*Ll.* 11-12) All these having assembled in full without deficiency in the number required for forming the quorum in the *tirukkāvaṇam* of the temple of Mārgavagai-tīrtta-mudaliyār-Nāyaṇār Uḍaiyār-Aḻagiya-Tiruccirrambalamuḍaiya-Nāyaṇār situated at the foot of the Tirukkoḍuṅkuṉṟam hill in Tirumalai-nāḍu, made the following *samaya-dharma kārya* after holding convincing discussions resulting in a unanimous agreement assigning the undermentioned fees so as to last as long as the moon and the sun for the *tiruppaḍimāṟṟu* (*i.e.* the sacred daily offerings), *tiruppaṇi* (*i.e.* repairs of the temple), the *tirupparis'aṭṭam* and *tirumēṟpūccu* (*i.e.* sacred anoinment of the body of the god) of the temple, for the requirements of the *maṭha* and for other requirements, as the sacred temple, the sacred tank, the *maṭha* and the *tirumaḍai-viḷāgam* are kept under our,(*i.e.* Padiṉeṇ-viṣayattār's) protection.

ARTICLES	Kās'u per *podi*	Kās'u per *pākkam*	Kās'u per headload	Kās'u per cart
Uppu (Salt)	1	½	½	10
Nel (Paddy)	1	½	...	10
Aris'i (Rice)	2	1	..	20
Payaṟu (Green gram)	1	½	...	20
Avarai (Beans)	1	½	...	20
Tuvarai (Dhal)	1	½	...	20
Āmaṇakku (Castor seed)	½	¼	...	10
Pākku (Areca nuts)	4	2	...	...
Miḷagu (Pepper)	5	2½	...	..
Mañjaḷ (Turmeric)	3	1½	...	...
S'ukku (Dried ginger)	3	1½	...	...
Veṅkāyam (Onion)	2	1	...	..
Kaḍugu (Mustard)	2	1	...	..
Jīrakam (Cumin seed)	2	1	...	...
Kaḍukkāy (Chebulic Myrobalans)	1	½	...	...
Nelli (Embellic Myrobalans)	1	½	...	...
Tāṉṟi (Beleric Myrobalans)	1	½	...	...
Irumbu (Iron)	2	1	...	20
Parutti (Cotton)	2	1	½	20
Nūl (Yarn or thread)	5	2½	2	20
Parum Puḍavai (Thick cloth)	10	5	...	...
Meṉ Puḍavai (thin cloth)	20	5	5	..
Ulaṇḍu (a kind of thread)	...	...	5	...
Meḻugu (Wax)	10	5	4	...
Tēṉ (Honey)	4 *Kās'us* for a pot			
Eḷ (Sesamum)	4	2	1	...
Kōṇi (Gunny)	2	1	1	...
S'andaṇam (Sandal)	30	...	...	...
Agil (Cedar)	30 *kās'us* per bundle			
Paṭṭu Paṭṭāvaḷam (Silk)	30 *kās'us* per bundle			
Paṉinīr (Rose Water)	30 *kās'us* per pot			
Savari mayir	30 *kās'us* per load			
Karpūra-tailam	20 *kās'us* per load.			
Sāndu, *Pulugu*, *Javvādu*	15 Kās'us per *Kombu*. For head-loads of these articles 3/4 of the rates prevailing for *pākkam* shall be levied			
S'āvādu	2 *kās'us*			
Kudirai (horse)	¼ *accu* each			
Āṉai (elephant)	½ *accu* each			

Thus had the *samaya-piḍipāḍu* been drawn up and given by the Diśai Thousand and Five Hundred renowned in all the quarters.

(*Ll.* 22 to 36) (This is the) signature of (the assembly of) Aruvanānagaram S'okkamaṅgalamuḍaiyār, chief of endless wealth whose fame is known in all the world. Poṟkaṭṭi-uḍaiyār, the Vēḷār of Poḷḷa-nāḍu. Māṇikkarāyar of Āṇmaṇūr, the Vēḷār of Avanis'ūḷā-maṇi-nāḍu. Aḷagaimāṉār, the lord of Ambar. Maṇḍalavaraiśar of Paravai, Aḷagaikkōṉār of Mattūr, Paṭṭiṉasuvāmi of Pālaiyūr. Puḷiyaṅguḍaiyāṉ Vaṇigarāyar of Pālaiyūr. Vēḷār of Pāmbuṇi-nāḍu. Tamiḷadaraiyar of Kōvalūr. Arumbākkiḷān Vaṇigarādittaṉ. S'ivabhaktar of Kōvalūr. Namaśivāyadēvar of Tuḷār. Āṉainama-deṟṟa Perumaḷ of Paṭṭam. Uḍaiyappiḷḷai of Āṉaippāḍi. S'eṭṭiyāṇ-ḍār of Paravai. Toṇḍaimāṉār of Muṭṭappāḍi. Tiruñānasam-bandar of Kalaśappāḍi. Tiruñānasambandar of Nāval. Toṇḍai-nāḍukiḷavar of Arumbākkam. Tiruttoṇḍattogaiyār of Uṟattūr. Chakkaravartti Kiḷippaṟṟūrār of Marudūr. Aḷagāpura-Karappaṟ-ṟuḍaiyār Udaiyappiḷḷai *alias* Irunedikkuḍaiyār of Tirucci-rāppaḷḷi. Poṉṉambalakkūttaṉ, the Vēḷār of Maṇṇi-nāḍu. Purandarar of Pūdamaṅgalam. Paḷḷiyaṉimār of Neḍuvāyil. Maṉaṟ-kuḍaiyār Āṉandakkūttāṇḍār of Tirukkōṭṭiyūr. Tiruvambalapperu-māḷ of Maṉarkuḍi. Āṉaiyaraṅgar Tādar of Peruñjēvūr. S'rī Nandagōpar of Pākkam. Paṉṉaikiḷār Pāṇḍiyadaraiyar. Bhaktaṟ-karuḷśeyvār of Aḷiśirpākkam. Vaśiravāṇar (Vais'ravaṇa) of Aḷagaimānagar. Vaḷudikkōṉ of S'ikkal. Pollādapiḷḷai of Aḷis'iṟ-pākkam. Tirumuṇḍamaḷagiyār of Āṉaippāḍi. Āvaṉiyuḍaiyār S'eppamuḍai Sambandar of Niyamam. Amarakōṉār of Siṟṟam-bar. S'ivadavaṉapperumāṉ, the chief of Toṇḍaināḍu. Veṇṇai-nal'ūruḍaiyar Tillaināyakappiḷḷai of Sundarapāṇḍiyapuram. Peṟ-ṟappiḷḷai of Sembaṅguḍi. Uḍaiyapiḷḷai of Pāmburam. Tādar of Pōrāmbūr. Paṭṭiṉaśvāmigaḷ of Kāḷaiyakkāvu Perunteru. Vaṇigar-mātākkaḷ S'okka Jñānasambandar Vēmbuḍaiyār Malai-maṇ-ḍala-mattākkaḷ of Eṟipaḍainallūr. Kaṇṇāvuḍaiyār of Maruttuvak-kuḍi S'okka Jñānasambandar of Maruttuvakkuḍi. Nittarvālaiya . . ṉ Kūttaṉ *alias* Peṉṉinattukōṉār of Māṇiguḍi. Teṉṉakōṉār of Vāḍāvūr. Maṉṉan *alias* Māṇikkarāyar of Māṅguḍi. Maḍattāṇḍār of Koḍumbāḷūr. Tillaivēndar Piḷḷāṇḍan *alias* Piḷḷai Ēnādar.

Sundara Perumāḷ *alias* Tamiḷakōṉār. Nāvaluḍaiyār S'ivabhaktar of Puduteru. Tirunīṟuparappinār of Nāṭṭārpaḷḷi. Udaiyappiḷḷai of Tirunallūr. Vaḷudikkōṉār of Vāguḍi. Pāṇḍikkōṉār of Tiruveṭpūr. Daṉmaparipālar of Vādavūr. Appāṇḍār of Aḍaippūḍi. Kandappiḷḷai of Māttūr. Āḷavandāṉ *alias* Maṇḍalasvāmi of Vīraṇakkuḍi. Kēraḷaṉ Bhaktarkaruḷs'eyvāṉ *alias* Sundarapāṇḍiya Mūvēndavēḷāṉ of Kaṇṇaṅguḍi, the accountant of this (*i.e.* the said) temple wrote this agreement (*Amaivu*) at the command of (the assembly of) these Eighteen Districts (Padiṉeṉ Viṣaiyattār). This shall be under the protection of the *Paṉmāhēs'varas*. Signature of Kāḷi Maṇḍalamaṇigaḷ of Jayaṅgoṇḍas'ōḷapuram. Signature of *Samaya Cakravarti*. Signature of Āḷkoṇḍāṉ S'ivabhaktaṉ. Signature of Kuḍandaipiriyaṉ. Signature of S'ōman Viḷumbaraṉ *alias* Uṟaiyūruḍaiyāṉ. Signature of Ambalavaṉ Jayaṅgoṇḍas'ōḷa S'ilaiseṭṭi and others of Abhimānas'ōḷapuram. Signature of Uḍaiyāṉ Āpattukkāttāṉ of Pēṭṭai. Tāvalkkoṇḍāṉ of Toṭṭipuram *alias* Rājakēsaripuram. Kāḷi Muppēruḍaiyāṉ of S'ivapādas'ēkharapuram. Signature of *Samaya mandiri* Koḷundaṉ Uḍaiyāṉ of S'ōḷapāṇḍiyapuram and *Samayapurandaraṉ* etc. (and others). Signature of Māṇikkāṇḍāṉ. Signature of Paḷḷi Koṅgāṇḍāṉ. Kōḷaris'ēkharapurattu Kūṟraṉ S'ēvaṉ etc. of Kōṭṭaikkarai. Signature of Piḷḷai Kāṇa-nāṭṭu-s'eṭṭi of Karuvūr Vañjimānagaram (*alias*) Muḍigoṇḍas'ōḷapuram. Signature of Māṇikkaṉ Eṟipattāṇḍān. (Signature of) the trader in pearls (*naṉmuttu*) Koṅgumaṇḍala s'ilais'eṭṭi of Kīraṉūr. (Signature of) Dēvaṉ *Samaya-mandiri* of Kaṇṇapuram. (Signature of) S'ōlai S'okkaṉ *alias* Sambandaṉ of Muḍigoṇḍam. (Signature of) Maṇḍalasvāmi of Koṟṟaṉūr. (Signature of) Nārāyaṇa, one of the Kudiraiceṭṭis (dealers in horses).

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

p. 1. *l*.15 *for* 'contributions' *read* 'contribution'
p. 2. f. n 2. *for* 'திலையாயம்' *read* 'நியாயம்'
p. 9. *l*. 28. *for* 'madigal' *read* 'madigai'
p. 13. *l*. 3. *for* '*Kaṇi*' *read* '*Kaṉṉi*'
p. 21. *l*. 5. *for* 'muluva' *read* 'muḻuva'
p. 22. *l*. 22. *for* 'Jananāth' *read* 'Jananātha'
p. 22. f. n. 53. *for* '*Iṇidu*' *read* '*Iṉidu*' and *for* 'sometime' *read* 'sometimes'
p. 24. Text. *l*.23. *for* 'mudmoḻi' *read* 'mudumoḻi'
p. 28. *l*.26. *for* 'Uttarāpatti' *read* 'Uttarāpati'
p. 30. f. n. 57. *l*.4. *for* 'Āchāyan' *read* 'Āchāryaṉ'
f.n. 57.*l*.8. *for* '*nis'ṇātaḥ*' *read* '*niṣṇātaḥ*'
p. 33. *l*.11 *for* 'पञ्जो' *read* 'पन्नो'
p. 34. lines 8 & 10. *for* 'Ugra' *read* 'Ugrā'
p. 35. *l*.12. *for* '(blacksmith)' *read* (blacksmiths)'
for '(goldsmith)' *read* '(goldsmiths)'
p. 36. *l*.23 *for* 'Takaṣa' *read* 'Takṣa'
for '*-mokṣa read*' *-mōkṣa*'
f.n. 63 *l*.2 *for* '*eṅgalōdu*' *read* '*eṅgaḷōḍu*'
for '*vēḷaikkāraṇ*' *read* '*Vēḷaikkāraṉ*'
for '*eṇṟu*' *read* '*eṉṟu*'
p.37. f.n. 66. *for* *ṇ* *read* *ṉ* in all places.
p.38.*l*.14 *for* '*uvamam-kātti*" *read* '*uvamam-kāṭṭi*'
l.28 *for* 'kaṇṇul' *read* 'kaṉṉuḷ'
f.n. 67.*l*.2. *for* '*kuyiṇarum*' *read* '*kuyiṉarum*'
l.3. *for* *ṇ* *read* *ṉ* in all places and *for* '*iḷṇai*' *read* '*ilai*'
l.4. *for* '*poṇ*' *read* '*poṉ*'
l.5. *for* '*nirai*' *read* '*niṟai*'
l.6. *for* '*seyyuṇarum*' *read* '*seyyuṉarum*'
l.7. *for* '*viṇaiñar*' *read* '*viṉaiñar*', *for* '*poṇ*' *read* '*poṉ*', and *for* '*naṇ*' *read* '*naṉ*'

p. 39.*l*.21. *for* ' Perungadali ' *read* ' Perungadai '

f.n. 68. Instead of *ṇ* in '*yavaṇa*' '*viṇaiñar*', '*iṇid*' and '*s'eyviṇai*' *read* with *ṉ*

foot-notes 72 and 73 refer to foot-note 72 only. delete '73' and *for* '*yavaṇar*' read '*yavaṉar*'.

for f.n. '74. *Ibid*. p. 804' *read* ' 73. Perungadai. p. 804'

for f.n. '75' *read* '74'

p. 40.*l*.6. *for* '(*s'oṇaga-s'iḍukksiṉ-kūḍu*) a kind of covering for the head, [76]' *read* 'a kind of covering for the head (*s'ōṇaga-s'iḍukkiṉ-kūḍu*) [76],

for f.n. '76' *read* '75'

Insert above foot-note 77 foot-note '76. *S.I I*. Vol. II. p. 434.'

f.n. 77.*l* 2. *for* '*yavaṇa*' *read* '*yavaṉa*'

l.3. *for* '*yavaṇa*' *read* '*yavaṉa*' and *for* '*viṇai*' *read* '*viṉai*'

l.4. *for* '*niṛaiya*' *read* '*niṟaiya*'

l.5 *for* '*nimieri*' *read* '*nimreri*'

f n. 82.*l*.1. for '*yavaṇa-kaiviṇai*' and '*vaṇappir*' *read* '*yavaṉa-kaiviṉai*' and '*vaṉappir*'.

p. 43.*l*.8. *for* 'represested' *read* 'represented'.

l.20. *for* '*idangal*' *read* '*iḍaṅgaḷ*'

l 33. *for* '*grama*' *read* '*grāma*'

p 44.*l*.7. *for* 'counscellors' *read* 'counsellors'

l.23. *for* '*samaya-kaiya*' *read* '*samaya-kriyā*'

l.28. *for* 'वाथा:' *read* 'बाधा:' and *for* 'साधारण' *read* 'साधारणा'

l.29. *for* 'सत्रोप°' *read* 'सत्रोप°'

p. 45. *l*.24 *for* 'माह' *read* 'महा'

l.25. *for* 'प्राजा' *read* 'प्रजा' and *for* 'कायस्थैश्च' *read* 'कायस्थैश्च'

f.n. 85.*l*.3. *for* 'संघता:' *read* 'संवाता:'

p. 46. *l*.1. *for* ' परद्रव्ये ' *read* ' परधनं '

l.2. *for* ' प्रच्छन्ना° ' *read* ' प्र छन्ना° '

l.3. *for* ' प्रसत्या° ' *read* ' प्रसह्या '

l.15. *for* ' घातर्यत् ' *read* ' घातयेत् '

f.n. 86.*l*.2. *for* ' पालयितुं ' *read* ' पालयितृ '

p. 47. Text *l*.1. *for* ' *baudhim* ' *read* ' *sandhim* '

p. 48. Text. *l*.9. *for* ' *āṇḍn* ' *read* ' *āṇḍu* '

p. 49. Text. *l*.12. *for* ' *vigu* ' *read* ' *viru* '

p. 50.*l*.10. *for* ' vilāsālaṇkṛita ' *read* ' Vilāsālaṅkṛita '

f.n.91. *for* ' *taṇmai* ' *read* ' *taṉmai* '

p. 51. f. n. 92. *for* ' *taṇmai* ' *read* ' *taṉmai* '

p. 52. *l*.22. *for* ' *nagaraṅgoḷ* ' *read* ' *nagaraṅgaḷ* '

l.34. *for* ' Aḍagiya ' *read* ' Aḷagiya '

l.35. *for* ' Tirukkoḍuṅkoṉṟam ' *read* ' Tirukkoḍunkuṉṟam '

p. 53. *for* ' Embelii Myrobalans ' *read* ' Embellic Myrobalans '

p. 54. *for* ' *uḷaṇḍu* ' *read* ' *ulaṇḍu* '

p. 56. *l*.9. *for* ' viṟṟiruppa ' *read* ' viṟṟiruppa '

(3) *l*.13. *for* ' *cheviḍupāḍā-* ' *read* ' *cheviḍu-paḍā-* '

f. n. 96 *for* ' *keḷumi* ' *read* ' *keḻumi* '

for ' *sūḷa* ' *read* ' *sūḻa* '

p. 57. *l*.8. *for* ' *eḷupattonbadu* ' *read* ' *eḻupatton badu* '

l.10. *for* ' *cittiramēḷi* ' *read* ' *citramēḻi* '

l.21. *for* ' *karp* =' *read* ' *kaṟp* ='

16 மார் 1977